The Pinschofs: Patrons of Art and Music in Melbourne 1883-1920

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER I</td>
<td>Early Vienna</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER II</td>
<td>Pinschof’s Beginnings in Sydney and Melbourne</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER III</td>
<td>Shared Interests</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER IV</td>
<td>The Taste for German Art</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER V</td>
<td>The Centennial International Exhibition</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and the Taste for Art and Music</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER VI</td>
<td>The Pinschofs: Patrons of Music</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER VII</td>
<td>The Pinschofs: Patrons of Art</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER VIII</td>
<td>Fully-Fledged Patron of Art</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER IX</td>
<td>The War Years</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CONCLUSION</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LIST OF PLATES</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PLATES</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>APPENDIX</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Pinschof Collection</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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INTRODUCTION

Little today is known of Carl Ludwig Pinschof and his wife Elise Wiedermann. As a result of two world wars, the German contribution to Australian culture was suppressed and many Germans consciously dissociated themselves from their Deutschum, their Germanness. Until recently Australian history has been written with a British perspective; by reference to and in comparison with England. Other countries have been largely passed over. Pinschof and Wiedermann had grown up in Vienna within cultured families during a period of Austrian liberalism. They were also well aware of the great interest that generations of the Habsburg dynasty had taken in art and music. Carl Pinschof, as Honorary Consul for the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Elise Wiedermann, a celebrated soprano on the operatic stages of Europe, shared a passion for music and art and were the spearheads of the German cultural influence in Melbourne as well as strong supporters of young Australian artists and musicians.

This thesis deals principally with the period following Pinschof's arrival from Vienna in 1879, to just after the First World War. It considers the Pinschofs' generous and timely support of the arts within the context of the amount of private and institutional patronage and the British, German and other cultural influences on Melbourne society at the time. Skilled in finance, Pinschof stressed the need for Australia to become economically independent. The Pinschofs loved their new country and wanted to get it on a firm financial footing and to develop a unique Australian culture. Pinschof had come to Melbourne for the 1880 International Exhibition as a representative of Austrian firms and then set up his own trading company. He was soon made Consul for Austria-Hungary. By the early 1900s he had become a director of The Herald and the first Chairman of Carlton & United Breweries. Upon her arrival in 1883, Elise Wiedermann had starred in concerts and from 1895 was the founding teacher of singing at the University Conservatorium. The Pinschofs felt that they were in a position to do something for the arts in Melbourne.

The Pinschofs became involved with Melbourne's younger artists through the interchange between musicians, singers and artists. They were early supporters and life-long friends of some of Australia's most important artists. Pinschof's inventory of his collection indicates that his earliest purchase of a work by an Australian artist was a Streeton in 1895. While Pinschof's collection was comparatively moderate in scale, it was significant in that it included early examples; among them four bronzes by Bertram Mackennal, seventeen paintings by Arthur Streeton, eight by Tom Roberts,
four by Frederick McCubbin, two each by Walter Withers, Will Ashton and John Mather, three by Alexander McClintock, one each by Emanuel Phillips Fox, Ambrose Patterson, Blamire Young, Ernest Moffitt and George Coates and two by Dora Meeson. It also included many works by European artists which were brought out from Europe or acquired from artists who were visiting Melbourne.

Pinschof was a patron rather than a connoisseur. Gerard Vaughan has argued in his Bachelor's thesis, on patronage in Colonial Victoria 1854-1892, written in 1976, that Victoria had only one art lover whose collection was formed according to a set of qualitative standards and whose attitudes were strongly cosmopolitan: Frederick Armytage. Even by the early years of the twentieth century, collectors in Melbourne had still not developed refined canons of connoisseurship. The Pinschofs' involvement in art was not restricted solely to the role of buyers and collectors. They were patrons in the true sense: through their involvement with the Liedertafel, the Marshall-Hall Orchestra, the Conservatorium and the Victorian Artists' Society they were both actively engaged in supporting the development of Australian art and music, while their homes in Melbourne and Mount Macedon were exhilarating centres of artistic life. Painters and musicians found in Pinschof a financial adviser and a genial and stimulating friend. Madame Wiedermann drew artists into their fold. She had a warm-hearted personality, her temperament was vital, kindly, generous and helpful. Her singing was an inspiration. The Pinschofs were both in accord with the artists and the musicians; sympathetic to their ideas.

The interrelationship between art and music in Australia has never been dealt with in depth; hopefully further research in this area will be done by future scholars. This thesis does demonstrate that artists and musicians supported and encouraged each other particularly in the late nineteenth century and the Edwardian era. It focuses on the Pinschofs' support of Marshall-Hall, Arthur Streeton and Tom Roberts and it will be shown that there was an exchange of ideas about Wagnerianism, Symbolism and love of the Australian landscape between the Pinschofs, Marshall-Hall and Roberts and Streeton. An underlying theme of the thesis is the pragmatic nature of patronage, the fact that culture is dependent to a great extent on a prosperous commercial life and that one must establish oneself before one has time to cultivate taste. The complex nexus between the cultural, commercial and political strands that made up the fabric of German-Australian relations is also investigated. The International Exhibitions fostered a taste for German art and music. They also developed trade with Europe, diverting some Australian trade with Britain thereby contributing to Australia's national independence. Pinschof played a significant part in this being
consul and an importer of European manufactured goods and also an agent for the Austrian Lloyd Shipping Line.

Beginning with a discussion of the formative years of Carl Pinschof and Elise Wiedermann in Vienna, this thesis follows with a look at Pinschof's role in the International Exhibitions in Sydney and Melbourne. The role of the Exhibitions in exposing audiences to foreign art and to items of luxury is demonstrated as well as their important effect on foreign relations. The necessity for Pinschof to establish himself and his subsequent marriage follows. The Pinschofs' promotion of singing and orchestral music through the Liedertafel is then dealt with, highlighting the Liedertafels' important role in the cultural, social and business life of Melbourne's middleclass. The taste for German art that flourished during the Pinschofs' time is discussed to make apparent that Pinschof was one of the prominent collectors of German art and that the most popular school, after the English, was the German. The Pinschofs' crucial support of Marshall-Hall, the first Ormond Professor of Music, and their involvement with the Marshall-Hall Orchestra and the conservatoria is then established to prepare for deeper discussion of the relationship between art and music. Pinschof's intensified feelings for his adopted country, his increased wealth and his prominence as a patron of Australian artists is then dealt with. The final chapter discloses the demoralising effects of World War I on the Pinschofs, on the taste for German art and music and on German-Australian relations.

During the prosperous boom years of the 1880s before the depression, Melbourne's artists received considerable private patronage from the city's newer professional and middle classes, the new rich and those from the artistic community. This group of patrons wished to assert the superiority of their taste over a conservative establishment and the older moneyed classes, whose ties with the Empire were stronger and who showed a distinct preference for British art. By the late 1880s it was acknowledged, by the sympathetic critics, that an Australian school of art was emerging and that Streeton, Roberts and McCubbin could capture the true Australia. Pinschof bought their work because he felt strongly for his new country and hoped that it would contribute to the development of an indigenous culture.

While a public gallery should purchase works which instruct and inform and which are in touch with the spirit of the times locally and internationally, the National Gallery of Victoria confined itself to buying works by contemporary masters. Essentially this meant work by overseas artists, though from time to time important Australian works were acquired. Melbourne's local artists understandably felt that they were not recognized.
In Australia, the population was overwhelmingly British, and although Germans made up the largest non-British group of the population, they accounted for less than two per cent. For nationalistic and nostalgic reasons, colonials liked British landscapes of the 19th century and the purchase of figurative art was rare. When they did buy figurative works, the most important ones were German and uncomplicated; a moralistic genre was popular. The common Anglo-Germanic aspirations and the British fashionable interest in German culture facilitated this. In the 1880s Melbourne's wealth attracted immigrant European artists who exhibited, making Melbourne's art scene more cosmopolitan and generating respect for foreign academies. Artists and scientists of German origin had contributed significantly to establishing Melbourne as the cultural centre of Australia. They helped found and they headed cultural institutions. From the late 1880s to the First World War there prevailed a hegemony of German symphonic music, indeed it was in the area of music that the German contribution was the greatest. However, with Germany's rapid industrial development and increased political power after unification, Anglo-German relations declined. From the turn of the century English and Australian newspapers criticized Kaiser William II's inordinate power politics and expanding naval programme. The power elite in Germany wanted to stop the spread of English values throughout the world. Australia felt that Germany's growing dominance was a threat to the defensive strength of the Empire.

Pinschof is given acknowledgement for introducing to Australia the *credit foncier* system of long-term rural loans. However, this subject is too specialized to have made Pinschof known to the public. In 1971 Dr Raoul Middelmann wrote his Ph.D. on the *credit foncier* system in Victoria. He followed in the next year with a comprehensive paper on Pinschof but this focuses on Pinschof as one of Australia's most independent financial thinkers of the time and does not delve deeply into the Pinschofs' roles as patrons of art and music. In 1979, Anne Mancini, in her honours thesis on German influences in the visual arts in Victoria, devoted a section of a chapter to the Pinschofs, however the limited space did not allow a thorough investigation of their patronage. There remained the need to say more about the extent of Pinschof's activities as a patron, about his relationship to the private and institutional patronage of the time and also about the Pinschofs' motivation for and patterns of collecting. The interrelationship of art and music also needed to be dealt with. Wiedermann's crucial role as a promoter of music, chiefly of the German school, and her relationship to Melbourne's artists has been overlooked. The few books on Australian music history briefly mention Wiedermann as an influential teacher at the Conservatorium. In her memoirs Nellie Melba acknowledged Wiedermann's early support as the keynote to her success and all subsequent biographies on Melba give credit to
Wiedermann. The recent monographs on Tom Roberts, Arthur Streeton and Hugh Ramsay all mention the Pinschofs as early patrons. Australian art historians Alan McCulloch and Bernard Smith also acknowledge Pinschof as a patron.

Apart from C.L. Pinschof's annotated inventory of his collection, there are no extant primary source documents written by the Pinschofs, relevant to their patronage of art and music. Therefore I have based my research on contemporary histories, press articles and exhibition catalogues. Letters and memoirs written by artists and other patrons in the circle around Melbourne's younger artists, have also been drawn upon. Arthur Streeton's lists, written when he divided the paintings among the daughters in 1934, have proven helpful. Secondary sources used include monographs and exhibition catalogues. My conversations with Thomas Pinschof, Pinschof's great nephew, were beneficial as was the reading of notes from Anne Mancini's interview with Elisabeth Finley, Pinschof's daughter, conducted before her death. In general very little material exists dealing with Austrians in Australia.

Upon Pinschof's death in 1926, his collection went to his three daughters. Over the years some of the works have reached state galleries and private collections in Australia, the remainder are with descendants in the United States. Madame Wiedermann gave her important collection of about 70 opera scores to the University Conservatorium some time before 1916. Today they are held in the Music Library of the University of Melbourne. There is a plaque now in the archives of the Grainger Museum, Melbourne (obviously removed at an earlier date). It reads: "In memory of Madame Elise Wiedermann born 1859 - died 1922." One of Elise Wiedermann's successful students Mona McCaughey (class of 1905) provided for The Elise Wiedermann Scholarship, administered by the University of Melbourne. In 1981, The Carl Ludwig Pinschof Scholarship for performing musicians from Australia and New Zealand to study in Austria was established, instigated by his great nephew Thomas Pinschof, a noted flautist who immigrated to Australia in 1976. The scholarship is made possible by the Austrian Government and donations from the Australian public.
CHAPTER I

Early Vienna

Carl Ludwig Pinschof came from an Austrian family of Jewish origin whose interests in business, finance and the arts were both deeply rooted and widely spread throughout Europe.\(^1\) Members of his extended family were well represented in the fields of medicine, natural science, theology and philosophy as well as in music, banking and finance. Born in Vienna in 1855, Carl Ludwig Pinschof was the eldest of the four children of Franz Carl Pinschof, born in Roskosch in 1830, and his wife Charlotte née Gromes also born in 1830. Carl Ludwig Pinschof traced his name back to a merchant from the Galician town of Pinczow on the Nida River who traded at the fair at Leipzig in 1730 as Jacob Pinczow. In 1789 his son, Isaak Phillip, called Jacobsohn, again a merchant, adopted the name Pintschoff (or Pinschof) with the formal permission of Emperor Joseph II. Carl Ludwig's grandfather, the second son of Isaak, was a merchant in cotton yarn in Vienna who following his baptism, married Anna Jett(t)ele of Prague. Carl Ludwig's father Franz Carl Pinschof founded the Viennese merchant bank Pinschof & Co. in 1856.\(^2\)

Carl Ludwig Pinschof attended schools in Vienna and then pursued his studies at the Castiririanum Gymnasium in Coburg followed by a tertiary school of commerce at Gera.\(^3\) At Leipzig University Pinschof heard lectures by Wilhelm Roscher, who, while not rejecting the teachings of classical economic theory, stessed their "relative character, tying the theory to place and time."\(^4\) Pinschof's independence in economic thought shown later in Melbourne owed much to Roscher.\(^5\)

In Vienna in 1873 Pinschof became a management trainee with the drug company Franz Wilhelm & Co. In the Autumn of 1875 he began one year's voluntary military service which led to a commission in the Austrian Dragoons.\(^6\) For some years he held the position of inspector of branches over his father's bank's branch offices at Linz, Salzburg, Budapest, Prague, Graz, Brünn and Klagenfurt.\(^7\) Early in 1877 he took over the management of his father's company at Linz, Franz Terpinitz & Co., where he spent only a few months. Pinschof then gained banking and financial experience joining the Vienna Girokassenverein, a central bank type institution involved in capital market transactions.\(^8\)

Pinschof's involvement in the arts began early in life. His mother had been a singer.\(^9\) A portrait of her at age 31 painted in 1867 by Siegmund Dux, who trained at the
Vienna Academy, was displayed in the family home (plate 1). Pinschof was extremely interested in music. In 1871, while still in secondary school, Pinschof made friends with the young Felix Mottl and Arthur Nikisch and was one of the founding members of the Akademischer Wagner Verein. Its aims were to promote a more intimate knowledge of Wagner's music and to provide funds for the construction of the Wagner Theatre, Bayreuth which was eventually financed by King Ludwig II of Bavaria.11 At the time Wagner was the centre of a progressive group while Brahms was the centre of the more conservative camp in Vienna.12 Pinschof was to be identified with musical societies all his life. Mottl and Nikisch became great Wagnerian conductors.

During the second half of the 19th century, with the coming of industrialization, the Austro-Hungarian Empire developed into a modern state with Vienna the banking and commercial capital of eastern Europe.13 The city's wealth helped to sustain theater, music and art funded by the government. Emperor Franz Josef I modernized Vienna, the seat of the reigning house and the imperial capital, and rejuvenated the arts. As with previous emperors of the Habsburg dynasty he considered it his duty to support the arts. The middle-class liberals who gained parliamentary control in the 1860s transformed the band of undeveloped land that encircled the medieval town and the Hofburg of the Habsburgs into the Ringstrasse. Lavish public buildings and private residences were erected. In 1879 Pinschof would have witnessed the spectacular festivities for the silver wedding anniversary of Emperor Franz Josef and Empress Elisabeth. The fashionable artist Hans Makart was asked to direct the city-wide celebration and he designed the 3,000 costumes and the floats representing the city's guilds, selecting as his stylistic inspiration Wagner's Meistersinger and the German Renaissance. Makart dressed for the parade as Rubens signifying his and his city's perception of himself as an international artist (plate 2).14 Growing up in such an atmosphere gave Pinschof a profound appreciation of the importance of the arts in everyday life which would later inform his enthusiasm for supporting the arts in Melbourne, a rapidly developing society.

Through his days with the Wagner Verein Pinschof came to know his future wife Elise Wiedermann, student of singing at the Vienna Conservatorium.15 Born in Vienna in 1851, she was four years his senior. She was the daughter of Carl Wiedermann, merchant and Elise née Aschinger.16 When she was eighteen years old her portrait had been painted by Ernst Lafite in return for a sitting in costume.17 Lafite studied at the Vienna Academy and was a favourite portrait painter in Vienna in the 1860s and 1870s.18 Elise inherited her musical talent from her father who was a member of the Solo Quartet of St Peter's which included singers from the Imperial
Opera and the Vienna Conservatorium. Elise Wiedermann studied singing under the renowned Mathilde Marchesi, then at the Vienna Conservatorium, and in 1873 the honour of Laureate was conferred upon her. She was then immediately engaged by the newly-founded *Komische Oper* in Vienna on the Ringstrasse (plate 3). This was followed by a season with the Carltheatre in Vienna where she sang under the conductorship of the famous Franz von Suppé who had ushered in Vienna's golden age of operetta. In 1875 Wiedermann accepted an engagement at the Municipal Theatre at Zurich and the following year she began a five-year term at the Court Theatre in Brunswick.

Carl Pinschof was raised in a patriarchal environment and his father expected him to take over the family banking business. However Pinschof was restless and preferred to travel. With the support of several Austrian industrialists he took the opportunity to further widen his commercial horizons and became honorary secretary of the Austrian commission to the Sydney International Exhibition in 1879. Pinschof would have been impressed by the vast World Exhibition of Arts and Industry which had been held in Vienna in 1873. Perhaps Australia's exhibits awakened his interest in the southern continent (plate 4).
I Early Vienna


2 Karl Pinschof to Middelmann, cited by Middelmann, 1972, pp. 3-4.

3 Middelmann, 1972, p. 4.


5 Middelmann, 1988, p. 233.

6 Middelmann, 1972, p. 4.


8 Middelmann, 1972, p. 4.


15 Carl Pinschof met Elise Wiedermann through Felix Motl, Mrs Elisabeth Finley, Pinschof's daughter, interview with Ms Anne Mancini, 1979.
16 Middelmann, 1988, p. 234.

17 Pinschof inventory.

18 *ibid* and Thieme and Becker, 1928, vol. 22, p. 205.


CHAPTER II

Pinschof's Beginnings in Sydney and Melbourne

On 21 August 1879 Carl Pinschof arrived in Sydney for the International Exhibition in the style then considered appropriate to represent his country's industries and achievements: aboard the Austrian man-of-war Helgoland. 1 Germany, France, Belgium and Italy also responded enthusiastically to the exhibition. All of these countries hoped to tap new markets.

The proposal for the Sydney International Exhibition came from J.L. Montefiore, a prominent Sydney businessman. He had served as a New South Wales Commissioner for the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition of 1876.2 The United States had been the first non-European power to join in the friendly competition that was first begun by the leading industrial nations of Europe. On the initiative of the Agricultural Society of New South Wales, the government adopted the Exhibition as a national project.3 Hosting an International Exhibition indicated the emerging maturity of the Australian colonies and the hope of becoming a respected member of the British Empire.

The Garden Palace was designed by the New South Wales Colonial Architect, James Barnet to house the display of the industries and arts of the world. The timber building, topped by a huge dome was situated in Sydney's Botanic Gardens and stood out above the whole city and the harbour.4 The cruciform plan, dominating central dome and four flanking towers emulated Francis Fowke's 1862 London Exhibition Building.5

The 251 Austrian companies that Pinschof represented were awarded 209 prizes and Pinschof was alerted to the demands of the Australian market.6 This was the first time that an exhibition of contemporary foreign art had been organized in the colonies.7 Some important art and artists were included in the show but the works were not the best examples.8 The newly-established Art Gallery of New South Wales was the only major purchaser from the display and among its acquisitions were ten landscapes and genre scenes by German artists.9 The Sydney International Exhibition provided the nucleus of the Art Gallery of New South Wales. At the close of the exhibition in April 1880 many of the principal exhibits were shipped to Melbourne to be included in the Melbourne International Exhibition which opened later in the year10 and in which Pinschof was involved, which will be discussed.
A corollary to Germany's participation in the 1879 International Exhibition was the decision to establish the Consulate General in Sydney. This manifested an important re-evaluation of Australia's importance to Germany's trade and an even more fundamental change in the assessment of Australia's importance in the Pacific region. Sydney was seen as the centre of the trade with the Pacific islands, the economic development of which would lead to expansion of European power in the area. The first 'German' consul had been appointed in 1840 in Sydney by the city state of Hamburg and by 1860 nine German states had a total of twenty-five consulates in the Australian colonies. By 1880, nineteen countries including France, Belgium, Italy and Japan maintained a total of sixty-seven consulates in the Australian colonies.

The impetus toward exhibitions was provided by the nineteenth century belief in the benefits that would result from the growing industrial power and technological skill of the western world. In the days before modern communications were perfected, these exhibitions provided a medium for advertising a nation's wares, and also a means for the interchange of industrial techniques, and to a lesser extent, of social and cultural traditions. Due to Australia's isolation, Australians enjoyed fewer opportunities than their contemporaries in Europe and the United States to become acquainted with the latest developments in technology and art. Isolation also made Australians more anxious for recognition.

The dreams of a better world and international harmony between 'civilized nations' associated with the Sydney and Melbourne exhibitions are very reminiscent of the ideals of the British social prophets of The Great Exhibition in London in 1851. The British exhibition movement grew from the activities of the mechanics' institutes and artisans' schools of design in England's industrial north during the 1830s and 1840s. Exhibitions were organized to educate working men in the contemporary state of the technical arts. The idea of the mechanics' institute spread and by 1851 every Australian capital as well as many country towns in Victoria had their own institution. The British exhibition movement was also linked with the aspirations of British manufacturer and philanthropist Robert Owen and the French sociologist Auguste Comte. Comte had formulated the concept that the arts, when united with industry, would contribute to the advancement of an evolving society. The theories of English philosopher Herbert Spencer and Irish physicist John Tyndall, advocating the application of science to society, for intellectual, social and moral progress, were also known to Melbourne's exhibition commissioners. The close relationship between Britain and Australia explains the consequent transference of intellectual currents to the colonies. Most of the exhibition commissioners had left England for
Australia in the early 1850s and would have remembered the Great Exhibition in London and they wished to stage their exhibition in the same mode.\textsuperscript{18}

When visiting Melbourne early in 1880 and learning of the world exhibition intended for later in the year, Carl Pinschof, having developed a liking for Australia and recognizing her enormous potential, decided that he would make Melbourne his home.\textsuperscript{19} Pinschof's family background, his education and his business experience provided him with broader interests and more skills than most immigrants. Indeed he left behind so much that his decision to exile himself in a remote British colony was unusual. He hurriedly returned to Europe and publicized the International Exhibition planned for Melbourne. With the help of his publication \textit{Sydney und Melbourne, Bemerkungen und Ratschläge für Aussteller, Sydney and Melbourne, Comments and Advice for Exhibitors}, published in 1880, he advised European companies of the most effective approach to the Australian market.\textsuperscript{20} Pinschof obtained new exhibits and returned to Melbourne in time to represent several Austrian manufacturers at the Melbourne International Exhibition which opened 1 October 1880. While in Europe Pinschof had become engaged in Hamburg to Elise Wiedermann who was well on her way to making a name for herself as a singer of grand opera.\textsuperscript{21} Pinschof's involvement in the ambitious International Exhibitions and his exposure to the nationalistic feeling in the air in the first two years of his arrival, evoked deep affection for his new country and influenced his artistic formation. This would later find expression in his patronage of young Australian artists.

In Victoria the growth of local manufacturing had been assisted by the imposition of protective duties, and its increasing importance found expression in the Manufacturers' Association of 1874 and the Protection League of 1875. Under Graham Berry, these two bodies merged into the National Reform and Protection League in 1877 forming the basis of the Liberal electoral organization.\textsuperscript{22} Its objectives were to remove the veto of the class-dominated Legislative Council and to preserve the high tariff. A land tax would have the effect of breaking up large estates, and also provide the revenue needed for expanding settlement in the colony. The Berry platform thus gained wide support, appealing to the manufacturers as well as to a section of the merchant group anxious to avoid the imposition of income tax. Small farmers who were struggling owing to the drought and the need to keep up mortgage payments were also in favour of a land tax which did not impinge on them. The Melbourne International Exhibition was a stimulus to recovery from the economic and political turmoil of the late 1870s. The exhibition was denounced by conservatives, the opponents of the Berry Government, especially the large landholders, as a threat to their ambitions. The initial proposal to hold the exhibition
in 1877 had been rejected by the Legislative Council. In his address at the dinner celebrating the opening of the Exhibition, Berry spoke of the new men in power and how they had displaced "men who occupied high social position and who believed they were the God ordained rulers of this country."  

Victoria was rehearsed for an International Exhibition having already held a number of local and inter-colonial exhibitions. To prepare for the exhibition of 1880 a large and influential commission was appointed headed by The Hon. William Clarke, landowner, stud-broeder and philanthropist. It included eight committee members of the newly-formed Victorian Manufacturers' and Exhibitors' Association, the most vigorous protagonists of the project. While the local manufacturers hoped for greater profits as a result of the Exhibition they sincerely believed that the contribution of industry to progress and to the entire community was immense. The exhibition was connected by telephone to the new Collins Street Exchange which linked it to a formidable network of city, country and world commercial intelligence indispensable to commercial activity. By 1880 Melbourne was well and truly the commercial capital of Australia.

The Exhibition Building, erected to house the 1880 Exhibition, was designed by Joseph Reed, who had been responsible for nearly every important Melbourne public building. Its impressive dome expressed Melbourne's desire to rival the world's greatest cities in its public architecture. For his design Reed drew on his European travels of 1862 when he was a Victorian Commissioner at the London International Exhibition. Reed's combination of Italian ornament with Gothic forms was seen to reflect the French taste for Italian architecture during the reign of Louis XIV. The surrounding Carlton Gardens with tapis vert, ornamental lakes and a fountain also recall Versailles.

The interior of the vast hall was decorated with allegorical tableaux by John Mather and other decorators. Born in Scotland, Mather had migrated to Victoria in 1878 aged 30. He had trained under the Glasgow watercolourist Thomas Fairbairn and studied at the Edinburgh National Gallery School. Mather had worked in Scotland, England and Paris chiefly as a decorator. His £2000 contract to design and carry out a scheme for the interior of the building gave him enough financial independence to enable him to devote more time to his own art. Mather went on to achieve considerable reputation and influence as a painter, etcher, teacher and art administrator in Melbourne. Carl Pinschof would later buy paintings by Mather and this will be discussed in a subsequent chapter. Mather's paintings in the lunette above the northern arch and facing the visitors arriving from the south, depicted Victoria as
Peace welcoming Science and Art accompanied by the greeting "Victoria Welcomes all Nations". This makes fully clear the colony's international aspirations and wish to be regarded as a modern state created by science and art. In the same lunette, Agriculture and Commerce, already developed, also welcomed Science and Art. The rapid economic progress of the colonies and their relative backwardness in cultural matters was often excused as a consequence of their youth.\textsuperscript{30} Above the southern portal the nations of the world were portrayed responding to Victoria's invitation to participate in the Exhibition. These murals illustrated that technological development allowed 'more advanced' nations to appropriate the products of 'less advanced' peoples.\textsuperscript{31} Such imperialist aspirations of the colony were also fully realized in the displays of the Colonial Courts of the Exhibition.

Exhibits in the International Exhibition came from 33 countries of the world. In \textit{Victoria in 1880} published in 1880, the author Garnet Walch boasted that the total space, allotted to exhibitors in the building and grounds, was considerably more than that of The Great Exhibition in London in 1851.\textsuperscript{32} The whole area was divided into national encampments of courts and sections. Next to Victoria's own showing, British exhibits were the most numerous. There were also strong representations from Germany and France. The exhibition was mainly a display of manufactured goods ranging from household items to railway engines. Since the establishment of the new German Empire under Prussian leadership in 1871, the \textit{Reich} had rapidly overcome the limitations impeding its economic growth and was claiming its place among the other imperialist empires, as an industrial and political power. The impressive German Imperial Tent occupied 27 square meters of floor space (plate 5). It was bought by the government of Victoria and left as a permanent exhibit in the Exhibition Building.\textsuperscript{33} Though fine china was not unknown to Australia, the display at the Exhibition was the best ever shown in the country. From Germany came a collection of Royal Meissen handpainted porcelain which displayed superiority of manufacture, design and colouring (plate 6).\textsuperscript{34} The perceptive trustees of the National Gallery of Victoria bought heavily at the Exhibition acquiring ceramics from the Royal Saxon, Villeroy and Boch and Vienna factories as well as from the British Minton, Doulton and Royal Worcester factories.\textsuperscript{35} The team of highly-skilled German craftsmen, who came to Australia to prepare the German Court, immigrated and were employed by the furniture warehouse Cullis Hill & Co. which was established in 1881. The firm specialized in Art furniture and incidentally supplied the decor for the \textit{9 By 5 Impression Exhibition} in 1889.\textsuperscript{36} In the Austrian Court 341 items were exhibited (plate 7). Herr Carl Pinschot was a representative for numerous Austrian firms and showed art printing and framing, porcelain, garnets, textiles, suites of furniture and the celebrated Bösendorfer pianos. He was also an agent for a female
painter in Vienna, M. Budinszky Dovani. The Melbourne Exhibition attracted the Archduke Ludwig Salvator, a member of the Habsburg Dynasty. He spent nine days in Melbourne visiting the exhibition every day. In his book *Um die Erde, ohne zu wollen*, *An Involuntary Journey around the Globe*, published in 1881, as with many early visitors to Australia, Salvator commented on the "truly spellbinding" development that had occurred in such a short time. The boasting of Victoria's rapid progress and the idea that a new society was being created, free from many of the problems of the Old World, was part of the nascent Australian nationalism.

The idea that high culture must spring from more practical endeavours, consoled men immersed in mercantile pursuits. The prominence of the performing and fine arts in the exhibition offered reassuring evidence that the process of cultural evolution was advancing. The opening ceremony of the exhibition took place in the great hall under the dome. It featured George Fincham's huge colonial-built organ and a massed choir singing the exhibition cantata. There were also daily music programmes. Wildner's Strauss Austrian Band had been drawn to Australia by the Melbourne Exhibition. German brass band music was immensely popular in Melbourne in the 1880s.

The 1880 Exhibition provided Melbourne's first large-scale exposure to contemporary painting from the chief art centres of Europe and Great Britain. The picture gallery, a mezzanine level, ran right around the interior of the hall. Britain contributed a sizeable collection though as the press pointed out, many of the works were scarcely worthy of the distinguished reputations of the artists. Sir Frederick Leighton, President of the Royal Academy was represented by an early painting *Samson and Delilah*. Lawrence Alma-Tadema's works were not choice examples either. George Frederick Watts exhibited paintings taken from the Bible and from Spenser's *Faerie Queene* and these were also judged as second rate by Melbourne critics. One of Sydney Cooper's cattle pieces was however considered a fine feature of the British gallery. It was commonly believed that in the field of watercolour England was pre-eminent and the British gallery was strongest in this area. Some of the best English sculpture of the Victorian era was also included in the British show. Henry 'Money' Miller of the Bank of Victoria and prominent art collector bought *All Among the Barley* by E.H. Fahey, considered one of the finest pictures in the British Gallery. *An Appeal for Mercy* by Marcus Stone A.R.A., dealing with a common incident during the Reign of Terror in Paris 1793, was also acquired by Miller. It too was regarded as a fine work in the Melbourne press. Miller purchased paintings from the German and the French galleries as well. For the Trustees of the National Gallery of Victoria, implementation of funds, to purchase works from the International
Exhibition, came too late and they complained that the choicest works had by then been sold. Nevertheless they bought three paintings: two watercolours by Sir John Gilbert and Oswald Brierly and an oil by D.W. Wynfield, all dealing with historical subjects.50

The German painting, sanctioned by the Reichs government, was of the official kind and also aimed to sell. In the handbook to the picture galleries, Stephen Thompson wrote that the German art though "not their highest examples, will go far to prove that there is real progress being made in every school, and in every direction."51 Of the genre pictures, The Argus critic pointed out that they would please connoisseurs on account of their technical qualities and be popular with the general public because of the simple subjects portrayed. He also enthused "the landscapes, taking them altogether, have no superiors in the Exhibition for fidelity to nature, poetry of feeling, and conscientious workmanship."52 The gallery included paintings by Andreas Achenbach, a most influential landscape painter at the Düsseldorf Academy from the mid 19th century onwards and Hermann Baisch, one of the most important representatives of German Freilichtmalerei (plein air painting) in the second half of the 19th century (plates 8 and 9) 53 Henry Miller bought Venice by Moonlight by Louis Douzet of Berlin, famous for his scenes of moonlight effects.54 It was praised by The Argus for its picturesque qualities.55 The trustees of the National Gallery of Victoria bought Freshwater Bay, Isle of Wight by Hermann Eschke, a good example of his work. Unfortunately this painting was later sold by auction in 1950.56

Among the pictures in the French Court, Chloë (1875), by the academic painter Jules Lefèvre, was perhaps the most important French painting to have come to Australia. It was considered the finest study from the nude in any of the galleries on account of the modelling and the naturalness of pose and flesh tints.57 At the close of the exhibition the painting was purchased by well-known Melbourne surgeon and art patron Dr Thomas Fitzgerald for £700.58 Henry Miller bought Snow Scene by Alexandre Defaux.59 The National Gallery trustees acquired a sentimental genre painting.60 However in Melbourne the taste for English and German art far out weighed any for French.61 Colonials could relate to scenes of English landscape and because of the common Anglo-German racial origins, Melburnians also liked German genre paintings with their moral and protestant themes. The National Gallery also purchased paintings from the Belgian and the Italian Courts.62

The Australian art was selected by a committee which confined its choice mainly to the work of members of the Victorian Academy of Arts which had formed in 1870 and took the place of the long-gone Society of Fine Arts.63 Among the artists whose
work was displayed were Düsseldorf-trained Eugen von Guerard, since 1870 foundation Instructor of Painting at the National Gallery School, Louis Buvelot, John Mather, Julian and George Ashton, Charles Douglas Richardson and Marian Ellis Rowan. These artists were not part of an Australian tradition and the majority were painting with eyes determined by their British or European training. Nevertheless they did attempt to capture the peculiar qualities of the landscape such as the distance and the light. Louis Buvelot and Julian Ashton encouraged *plein air* painting to truthfully capture the landscape and establish a distinctly Australian art. In his reviews of the Exhibition, the leading critic, James Smith (1820-1910) of *The Argus*, compared the local art unfavourably to that from overseas; he did however praise the paintings of von Guerard, Buvelot and Julian Ashton and gave a mention to the work of the young unknown artist Tom Roberts.

While the art galleries were the best-attended section of the exhibition, it was probably because the pictures appealed to the imagination and were narrative rather than being attributable to the artistic discernment of the public. Nevertheless after the exhibition *The Age* claimed "the effect on higher education has been...remarkable; pictures, statuary and art manufactures have been brought under the notice of all classes." Ten years later *Table Talk* pointed out:

> It was not until the Melbourne Exhibition of 1880 which brought people face to face with the art of other countries, that it dawned on the public that there was a force at work which was fast tending towards the multiplication of artistic homes, and the buying of pictures became recognized as a luxury not altogether reserved for a Croesus.

The collections of paintings, according to *Victoria and Its Metropolis* in 1888, were a stimulus to local artists "and their subsequent work has indicated how beneficial was the influence." In the area of domestic taste the exhibition played a part in a movement which was underway: in Europe the decorative arts were undergoing a creative revival and people were purchasing furnishings for their homes and books on household taste proliferated. *The Picturesque Atlas of Australasia* also noted that many British and foreign houses established branches in Melbourne for the purpose of supplying the demand for elegant and artistic household goods. It also emphasized that the exhibition stimulated local ingenuity, inventiveness and enterprise, and supplied higher standards of judgement and comparison to colonial artificers. The 1880 Exhibition ran for seven months and was attended by enormous crowds.

One of the objectives, which had motivated foreign countries in general to participate in the exhibitions, was brought closer to fulfillment when direct trading links,
This role of the Australian colonies and France, bypassing the British middleman. Such economic relations was an effect of the exhibitions, even if it did not immediately lead to a more in the total volume of trade. Nevertheless the 1880 Exhibition was a notable influence in drawing the attention of English capitalists to the value of the colonies as a field for investment. Germany and France realized the need for more systematic and methodical support such as regular shipping lines, banking facilities and a more efficiently managed organization for commercial agencies. In 1880 Bismarck proposed the establishment of a government subsidised diplomatic service in Australia (as well as to China and Africa) as an essential prerequisite for supporting German commercial interests in these regions. The promising results of the 1879 and 1880 exhibitions and the still unexploited potential of the Australian market.

In April 1881 (the opening of the Melbourne exhibition) Pinschof had joined the firm of Pfaff & Co as a merchant and import agent who traded at 106 George Street, Melbourne. A native of Hanover, had arrived in Melbourne aged 22 as a representative of a number of German firms for the introduction of E. Bohn & Co. The partners between the years of Pinschof and Pinschof were close. At the beginning of their partnership they lived in the same house, 106 George Street, Melbourne. In 1881 Pinschof set up house at 21 Lewisham Road, Windsor. Among the young representatives, sent out by European firms, were Pfaff & Co and established their own offices and sample rooms of their goods and their lines. This new agency system was a challenge to the old-established merchants of Melbourne and received opposition from the merchants, but the new partners had a large store of retail and wholesale retailer. However, by the early 1890s the agency system had become an important part of Melbourne's commerce. Pfaff & Co had the sole agency for the various Australian colonies. Pfaff, Pinschof & Co had the sole agency for the various Australian newspapers, Bohemian glassware,
china (particularly for hotels), fencing wire and goods of the United Berlin-Frankfurt Indiarubber Company. Pfaff, Pinschof & Co. was also a wholesale importer and agent for Lloyd's Steam Navigation Company. Pinschof had now firmly established himself in Melbourne's business community.

The opening of a direct steamship line in 1886 by the Norddeutsche Lloyd North German Lloyd Line of Bremen, with the support of a substantial government subsidy, was the direct and most important consequence of the two Australian exhibitions. Australians welcomed this improvement of Australia's traffic links with the outside world. Germans in Australia had lobbied the German government on this issue for a number years. They also saw the magnificent high-funnelled, swift vessels calling to Australian ports as an object of pride, a sign of the fatherland's care for their interests and a symbol of the international ascendency of the German Empire.
II Pinschof's Beginnings in Sydney and Melbourne

1 Middelmann, 1972, p. 4 and Middelmann, 1988, p. 234.

2 L. Young, 'Let them see how like England we can be: an account of the Sydney International Exhibition 1879', M.A. thesis, Department of Historical Archaeology, University of Sydney, 1984, Chapter 2, p. 37.

3 ibid. pp. 38 and 44.


5 Compare plates 30 and 73 in Friebe, 1985.


7 Young, 1984, p. 112.

8 Edward Combes in Sydney, International Exhibition, Official Record, p. 442. Combes was Chairman of the Fine Arts Committee. He was a French-trained amateur watercolourist, Member of Parliament and a Trustee of the Art Gallery of New South Wales.

9 Sydney, International Exhibition, Official Record, p. 459 ff and Young, 1984, pp. 119-124. Purchases made by the Art Gallery of New South Wales included fifteen British paintings, predominantly landscapes, for example paintings by Sir Oswald Brierly (1817-1894) R.W.S. and Sidney Cooper (1803-1902) R.A. The ten German pictures bought were mainly landscapes and genre scenes and included work by Valentin Ruths of Hamburg and by F. Beinke. Six French paintings were acquired, again all landscapes and genre including works by Alexander Defaux and Charles Landle.

10 Young, 1984, p. 113.


12 ibid. p. 144.


15 Davison, 1988, p. 159.


21 Middelmann, 1972, p. 5.


23 *The Argus*, 13 October 1880, quoted in Fox, 1990, p.64.

24 Parris and Shaw, 1980, p. 239.


27 Fox, 1990, p. 65.


31 Fox, 1990, p. 66.


34 *The Argus*, 11 November 1880, p. 41

36 Australasian Sketcher, 18 November 1882, p. 315, cited by Terence Lane and Jessie Serle
Australians at Home; A Documentary History of Australian Domestic Interiors from 1788 to
5 Impression Exhibition, 1889, cover.

37 Melbourne, International Exhibition, Katalog der Österreichischen Abteilung herausgegeben
von der Österreichischen Commission für die Weltausstellung in Melbourne 1880, Part II,
passim, and The Argus, 11 October 1880, p. 21.

38 Ludwig Salvator, Um die Welt ohne zu wollen An involuntary Journey around the Globe, Heinr.
Mercy, Prague, 1881, p. 107ff, cited by Norst and McBride, 1988, p. 60 and The Herald, 18
February 1881.

39 The Argus, 2 October 1880, p. 6.

40 One of the members, violinist Ludwig D’Hage became conductor of the Orpheus Club Orchestra,
Rockhampton and later played with the Conservatorium Orchestra, Sydney Norst and McBride,
1888, p. 81.

41 Herr Adam Plock, born in Cassel in 1824, arrived in Victoria in 1853 and from 1871 promoted
high class band music principally of German composition at the Melbourne Cricket Ground,
Albert Park and at vice regal garden parties, "Herr Adam Plock” in T.W.H. Leavitt (ed.), The
Jubilee History of Victoria and Melbourne, 1888, vol. II, Part V.

42 The Argus, 5 November 1880, p. 37.

43 ibid.

44 The Argus, 11 November 1880, p. 40.

45 ibid.

46 The Argus, 11 October 1880 p. 7.

47 ibid. and Melbourne, International Exhibition, Handbook to the Picture Gallery and Works of
Art, Stephen Thompson, Melbourne, 1880, p. 2. The Water-Colour Society, The Royal Scotch
Academy, the Royal Hibernian Academy and the Institute of Painters in Water Colour were all
worthily represented.


49 The Argus, 5 November 1880, p. 37 and 19 November 1880, p. 43.

50 Edmund La Touche Armstrong, The Book of the Public Library, Museum and National Gallery
of Victoria 1856-1906, Melbourne, 1906, cited by Leonard Cox, The National Gallery of
Victoria 1861-1968: A Search for a Collection, National Gallery of Victoria, 1970, p. 40 and
National Gallery of Victoria Stock Book, May 1881, brought to my attention by Anne Rowland,
Assistant Registrar, National Gallery of Victoria.

51 Thompson, 1880, p. 91.

52 The Argus, 15 October 1880, p. 18.

54 In discussing the works of art lent to the Victorian Loan Gallery of the Centennial International Exhibition staged by Melbourne in 1888, commentators inform that the paintings lent by the executors of the late Henry Miller had been purchased from the 1880 International Exhibition, Melbourne, Centennial International Exhibition, *Centennial International Exhibition Melbourne 1888-9, Official Record*, Sands and Mc Dougall, Melbourne, 1890, p. 220.


56 *ibid.* and National Gallery of Victoria Stock Book, May 1881.

57 *The Argus*, 28 October 1880, p. 34.

58 Gerard Vaughan, "The Armytage Collection: Taste in Melbourne in the late Nineteenth Century" in Ann Galbally and Margaret Plant (eds.), *Studies in Australian Art*, Department of Fine Arts, University of Melbourne, 1978, pp. 36-44; p. 39 and Parris and Shaw, 1980, p. 244. In 1882 Fitzgerald offered *Chloë* to the National Gallery of Victoria on loan and on the advice of Director George Polingsby the trustees accepted the painting. However, when the government decided to open the Gallery on Sundays moralists were outraged by the additional offence of displaying a naked female body. French art was seen to lack moral beauty. Numerous letters to the editor appeared in *The Argus*. Consequently Fitzgerald removed his painting. When Fitzgerald died in 1908 art collector Henry Young purchased *Chloë* for £800 and hung the painting in Young & Jackson's hotel where it is still seen today, Cox, 1970, pp. 40-41, Melbourne, Victorian Artists' Society, *The French Presence in Victoria 1800-1901*, 1984, Alliance Française, Jim Davidson, pp. 17 and 54 and Keith Dunstan, "Chloë: Forever Young (& Jackson's)", *The Age*, 13 August 1988, *Good Weekend*, supplement, pp. 52-54; p. 54.

59 Melbourne, Centennial International Exhibition, 1890, p. 220.

60 *The Last Moments of Coco* by P. Beyle, a sentimental painting depicting a dying dog, National Gallery of Victoria Stock Book, May 1881, brought to my attention by Anne Rowland, Assistant Registrar, National Gallery of Victoria.

61 One of the most significant features of the private collections in Melbourne in the 1880s is the almost total lack of modern French art, Vaughan, 1978, p. 39.

62 *Morning* by Franz Courtens, *Fisher Woman* by Felix Cogan and *Public Writer* by T. de Tommasi the latter two paintings were sold by auction in 1950, National Gallery of Victoria Stock Book, May 1881, brought to my attention by Anne Rowland, Assistant Registrar, National Gallery of Victoria.

63 *The Argus*, 2 October 1880, p. 7. The Victorian Society of Fine Arts had been formed in 1856. It held a few exhibitions but failed to attract enough public support and collapsed. Its place was not filled until a decade later when the Victorian Academy of Arts was founded, G. Hermon Gill, "The Vics': An Historical Record" in C.B. Christesen (ed.), *The Gallery on Eastern Hill*, Victorian Artists' Society, Melbourne, 1970, pp. 9-24; p. 10.

65 The Argus, 2 October 1880, p. 7.

66 The Age, 21 March, 1881, quoted by Parris and Shaw, 1980, p. 250.


70 Irma Veit-Brause, "'Then Shall a New Page Grace the Nation's Story' German-Australian Relations at the Time of the Centennial International Exhibition, Melbourne, 1888", in L. Bodie and S. Jeffries (eds.), The German Connection: Sesquicentenary Essays on German-Victorian Crosscurrents 1835-1985, Department of German, Monash University, Melbourne, 1985, pp. 42-54; p. 46.

71 The Age, 1 August 1888, p. 4

72 Veit-Brause, 1985, p. 46.


75 Middelmann, 1972, p. 6.

76 Title no. 1934-730, ibid. p.7, note 23.


79 Veit-Brause, 1985, p. 46.

CHAPTER III

Shared Interests

The love for and support of music that Carl Pinschof and Elise Wiedermann had shared in their youth strengthened in their marriage. Before coming to Australia to marry Carl Pinschof, Elise Wiedermann already had a reputation in Europe as a dramatic soprano. While still engaged with the Court Theatre at Brunswick, Wiedermann gave numerous song recitals at the Court Theatre at Hanover where the master pianist Hans von Bülow often volunteered as her accompanist, a great honour. He proclaimed her to be the foremost living interpreter of Schumann's Frauenliebe und Leben. In 1881, much to the regret of the Brunswick musical public, Mademoiselle Wiedermann had accepted an engagement at the Hamburg Municipal Theatre where she sang for two years under conductor Josef Sucher. During the summer vacations of 1881 and 1882 she had sung under conductor Arthur Nikisch at the special summer Opera Seasons of the Carola Theatre in Leipzig. In 1882 Wiedermann had been a star of the first German opera company to give a London season. At Drury Lane under the baton of Hans Richter, one of the greatest conductors of Wagner, she sang Eva in Meistersinger, Venus in Tannhäuser and Fricka in both Rheingold and Walküre as well as Marcellina in Fidelio. She sang for Queen Victoria and Edward, Prince of Wales. In July 1883 to the disappointment of the management and the Hamburg public, Elise Wiedermann declined a most favourable offer for a five year renewal of her contract, as well as "an amazing contract from the Berlin opera house", and sailed for Melbourne, Australia to marry her fiancé Carl Pinschof.

Carl Pinschof and Elise Wiedermann were married on August 19, 1883 the day of her arrival, at the Church of the Immaculate Conception in Hawthorn. Shortly afterwards they had their photograph taken by the acclaimed Melbourne photographer, the German J.W. Lindt (plate 10). Elise Wiedermann's coming to Melbourne was followed by that of her younger sister Antonia and later by her sister Louise. Alfred Pfaff, Pinschof's business partner married Antonia in 1886 and they were neighbours for several years in Windsor. Soon after her arrival in Melbourne, Madame Wiedermann, as she was called, was induced to take part in Wagner's The Flying Dutchman at Government House to raise funds for the English Church at Macedon. Madame Wiedermann was fortunate in having as a friend Lady Loch, the Governor's cultured wife. Following the Continental romantic tradition, the Pinschofs acquired a country property, choosing Mount Macedon, 60 kilometres north-west of
Melbourne, a fashionable location for Melbourne establishment. The Governor Sir Henry Loch and Lady Loch had a summer retreat in Upper Macedon. On their land, eventually almost nine hectares, the Pinschos built their home 'Hohe Warte' (high lookout) named after the scenic spot in the Vienna Woods that Pinschöf had visited as a schoolboy and which dates back to the Turkish invasions. The view from their property extended all the way towards Geelong. 'Hohe Warte' would become a centre for cultural life where artists and musicians would gain inspiration and produce work under the patronage of the Pinschos. The house, designed by Pinschöf, had 14 bedrooms and two wide verandahs. One hundred and fifty oak trees lined the drive and there were 100 camellias along the side of the house. Pinschöf's daughter Elisabeth recalled the raspberries and Kentish cherries. The garden also included firs, hollies, linden, chestnuts, walnuts, elms and rhododendron. Baron von Müller, Government Botanist, suggested suitable plants to Pinschöf as did naturalist Gustav Weindorfer, who after emigrating to Australia from Austria in 1900, became a clerk in Pinschöf's firm. The many pine trees to be seen at Mount Macedon today are survivors of the 400 specimens which the Pinschos had planted on their extensive grounds. These together with the name Pinchoffs Lane which formed the northern border of the property, still tell of the influence of the Pinschos in the area.

With the unification of Germany by Chancellor Bismarck in 1871, the number of German consulates was reduced and consular appointments were made in Australian capital cities only. In Melbourne, Wilhelm Alexander Brahe was appointed Consul for the German Empire, holding office on behalf of the Reich until 1912. Since 1868 Brahe had been Consul for the North German Confederation. Born in Westphalia, Prussia in 1825, he had arrived in Victoria in 1849 and in 1866 was admitted as a solicitor.

The new German consulate was built by J.A.B. Koch in 1875 at 6 Shakespeare Grove Hawthorn, a recent subdivision favoured by some of the wealthier members of the local German community (plate 11). It was another step in the consistent effort to increase German trade and also served as a formal centre for entertainment. Koch was born in Hamburg in 1845. At the age of eight he emigrated to Australia where he was subsequently trained. His work was not in itself distinctively German; he drew on various sources including designs by contemporary architects in Germany. Koch also designed the private residence of Brahe at 21 Isabella Grove Hawthorn. The Lutheran Church and the Deutscher Verein in Melbourne commissioned him to design buildings for them as well. Koch's association with the German community remained strong throughout his working life.
While most men are satisfied with the accumulation of wealth, some require social prestige and acknowledgement of their worth. For businessmen and entrepreneurs appointment as a consul was a much-coveted honour. The Imperial and Royal Austrian-Hungarian authorities considered Carl Pinschof sufficiently well established in Melbourne when they made him Honorary Consul of Austria-Hungary for Victoria and Tasmania in September 1885, following the death of the previous Consul, Louis Thonemann.\(^{19}\) Pinschof had a great deal to offer the role: a sound education in commerce, banking and trade expertise and a reputation for prudence in business matters. An accomplished linguist, he had self-confidence and experience in public relations. In the dragoons he had learnt protocol and decorum. It was however considered unacceptable for the wife of a *Kaiserlich und Königlichen Konsuls* to sing for remuneration and Pinschof had to sign a declaration that his wife would abide by this restricting rule.\(^{20}\) Nevertheless the government of the Double Monarchy must have been impressed by his wife Madame Wiedermann. A former prima donna who had sung on the operatic stages of Europe and in London, she could be expected to contribute to a socially prominent life for the new Honorary Consul in Melbourne, who shared her enthusiasm for music.

Consuls were expected to establish contacts with the governments and authorities and good relations with the leading strata of Australian society, all of which Pinschof carried out with aplomb. The British fashionable interest in German culture would have facilitated the acceptance of Germans into vice-regal circles of the eighties. Visiting captains of Austrian, German, French and Russian men-of-war and Austrian-Hungarian businessmen whom he welcomed into his home, showed themselves deeply impressed by Pinschof's generous hospitality, his relations with prominent Melburnians and the standing of his trading company.\(^{21}\) To be a consul not only gave one social prestige: since he was also closely involved with travel and commercial transactions, a consul could easily develop lucrative personal business links. Pinschof received tremendous advantages from his position.

In 1899 under the patronage of the German Consul, H.W. Püttmann set up the Victorian *Deutscher Schulverein* (The Association of German Schools) for the promotion of German culture and language.\(^{22}\) The French community had the *Alliance Française*, founded in 1890 by Madame Mouchette under the patronage of Lady Janet Clarke to disseminate French language and literature. James Smith was instrumental in its foundation.\(^{23}\) In 1866 the Consul for Italy had established the Dante Society to propagate Italian language and music. James Smith and Janet Clarke were president at various times.\(^{24}\) German, French and Italian were the main foreign cultural influences on Melbourne, an overwhelmingly British society.
The area most obviously marked by German cultural influences before World War I was music. The German contribution included music of the Lutheran church, brass bands, participation in and organization of symphonic and chamber orchestras and string quartets, German educationists, composers and the Liedertafel. The Pinschosfs supported many of these areas as will be discussed in following chapters. The Liedertafels cultivated spirited part-singing amongst men and also promoted grand orchestral music, mostly of the German school. Liedertafel concerts, organized by the German community, were an important part of Victoria's social and business life attended by the cultured middle class. No local performer had a chance of launching himself as a professional singer or musician without the aid of these societies. German patriotic clubs, with music as an adjunct, had existed in Melbourne from the 1840s. The Melbourne Liedertafel originated from the Liedertafel Harmonia founded in 1858 and became the Melburner Deutsche Liedertafel in 1868. Due to the influx of British members, this re-formed in 1879 with English as the official language of the meetings and contemporary English music, such as Sullivan, was introduced also. German patriotic elements disappeared. Meetings consisted of men grouped at small tables and singing in parts with much drinking and smoking. In fact the Liedertafels fostered Australian nationalism through male mateship and local pride. The Liedertafels were also a pleasant way of making business contacts. Pinschof was enthusiastic about these elements and was an active committee member of the Melbourne Liedertafel for many years prior to 1904. In Germany, Liedertafel clubs date back to 1808 with Carl Friedrich Zelter, head of the Berlin Song Academy. Zelter's Liedertafel fostered nationalistic aspirations during the political depression caused by Napoleon's rule in Germany. The origins of Schubert's men's choruses are also attributed to Zelter's Liedertafel.

In Britain the music of German-speaking countries was very highly regarded. This was part of the general admiration of German culture which prevailed throughout the 19th century and was transplanted in Australia. In 1888 Alexander Sutherland wrote that the Melbourne Liedertafel "devoted itself to the practice of those richly harmonised and gracefully tuneful part songs in which the Teuton genius so long has had the pre-eminence." This Anglo-Saxon view of stereotype Germans was still flourishing in 1903 when James Smith referred to the German citizens of Melbourne and "the music-loving instincts of their race." Thus music was associated with German ethnicity.

Madame Elise Wiedermann sang as a soloist at the Liedertafel grand Town Hall concerts which were staged every two or three months when nearly 3,000 listeners in evening dress filled the hall to hear fragments of majestic works. Later Melbourne's
first Ormond Professor of Music, G.W.L. Marshall-Hall, would be honorary conductor of the Melbourne Liedertafel from 1897 to 1902. The Liedertafels retained one or two of the most accomplished local performers and occasionally engaged leading, visiting, musical celebrities for special performances. In 1884 Melbourne Liedertafel soloist, Elise Wiedermann appeared as Leonora in Beethoven’s *Fidelio* at the Melbourne Town Hall. This opera had high stature in Europe and Melbourne had waited a long time for a performance. Acquaintance with such German opera was important, as works which occupied the stages of Melbourne in the 1880s were predominantly Gilbert and Sullivan. Melbourne did have some earlier exposure to opera. In the 1850s small opera companies from overseas had followed the gold mining boom. By 1861 Irishman, William Saurin Lyster, had arrived in Australia from California. Relying on imported artists, Lyster supplied the colonies with the works of the best European and English opera for nineteen years. In 1878 he presented in Melbourne the first performances in Australia of Wagner’s *Lohengrin* and *Tannhäuser*. However, Lyster’s efforts to popularize Wagner’s music proved to be premature. It would be left to the Pinschofs to spread a taste for Wagner.

The Liedertafels were mildly interested in educating the public whereas the Philharmonic Society performed oratorios, cantatas and symphonies for public edification. The Melbourne Philharmonic had been established in 1853 by the migrant choristers of England. They felt the need to re-establish thus English taste (usually for things German) was reproduced. For them music was a means of bolstering Empire loyalty. The Philharmonic consisted of a mixed choir and a mixed formal audience admitted on subscription or open ticket. Both the Liedertafels and the Philharmonic were founded and supported by the middle class. While the Liedertafels hindered professional development by using underpaid assistance, they were beneficial in that they cultivated music and fostered a singing environment where voices were developed.

Nellie Armstrong made her professional debut at a Liedertafel concert at the Melbourne Town Hall on May 17 1884. Having learned all that she could in Australia, the aspiring young singer was determined to further her studies in Europe. Madame Wiedermann generously provided Nellie Armstrong with a letter of introduction to her own former teacher, the celebrated Madame Marchesi in Paris, a teacher in great demand who transformed her into Melba. Nellie Armstrong also had the financial backing of her father, the wealthy building contractor. In her memoirs Melba acknowledged that it was to Madame Wiedermann that she owed her first great moment. Madame Wiedermann thus helped to create a successful
musical career that became an inspiration to many ambitious Australians. Wiedermann also provided introductions for other Australian singers who became famous, including Ada Crossley.\textsuperscript{43}
III Shared Interests

1 Eisenberg, 1903.

2 *ibid.* and *Die Braunschweiger Landes Zeitung* 1 June 1880 and 30 May 1881 and *Das Braunschweiger Tageblatt*, 30 May 1881, reviews obtained by Dr. Middelmann and kindly made available to me by Ms Anne Mancini.

3 Eisenberg, 1903.

4 *ibid.* and Finley interview with Mancini 1979

5 Eisenberg, 1903 and Elisabeth Finley to Raoul Middelmann 30 December 1971, quoted in Middelmann, 1972, p. 21.

6 Eisenberg, 1903 and Middelmann, 1988, p. 234.


11 Finley to Mancini, 16 February 1979.

12 Finley interview with Mancini 1979.

13 *ibid.* and Norst and McBride, 1988, pp. 77-79. Weindorfer became a member of the Royal Geographical Society. In 1905 he married an Australian and moved to Tasmania where set up the natural reserve 'Waldheim' in the Cradle Mountain region.

14 The Pinschofs owned *'Hohe Warte'* until 1917 when W.L. Baillieu & Co. sold it to the Slutzkin family of St Kilda. It unfortunately burnt down in the mid 1930s. The property was then bought by N.W. Hutchinson of Toorak. The former gardener's cottage still stands. J. Alan Hutchinson to Thomas Pinschof 12 July 1978, kindly made available to me by Thomas Pinschof. Middelmann, 1972, p. 8.


17 Warwick Forge, Assistant Administrator, National Trust of Australia (Victoria) to Miss Virginia Martin, Secretary, Historic Buildings Preservation Council, 18 May, 1978, made available by
Bialik College, Hawthorn. The building is classified by the National Trust and is now Bialik College Junior School.


19 Middelmann, 1972, p. 8.

20 ibid.

21 When the Austrian man-of-war Saida visited Australian ports, to welcome Captain Edler von Elbenbruck, the officers and Dr Brillant, Pinschof entertained a large number of representative Melbourne citizens at the German Club in Melbourne. Later Pinschof organized a concert by the Victorian Orchestra for the Saida delegation, Table Talk, 23 January 1891, p. 1, 6 February 1891, p. 10 and 13 February 1891, p. 13.


32 Melbourne Liedertafel Minute Books 1897-1902.

33 Liedertafel artists’ lists, annual reports, programmes and Minute Books.


36 ibid.


40 *ibid.* pp. 28-31.

41 *ibid.*


43 *Table Talk* 21 December, 1899, p. 21.
CHAPTER IV

The Taste for German Art

During the Pinschofs’ time in Melbourne a preference for German art and German teaching flourished. In the 1850s and the first half of the 1860s the German artists and scientists in Melbourne had played a central role in establishing Melbourne as the Australian city of greatest cultural importance.1 Artist and naturalist Ludwig Becker, member of the Victorian Society of Fine Arts, had pushed to establish the art gallery.2 Ferdinand von Müller, Director of the Victorian Botanical and Zoological Gardens (1857-1873) and Victorian Government Botanist (1856-1896), continued to make important contributions.3 In 1870 the Austrian Eugen von Guerard who had studied at the Düsseldorf Academy, had been appointed the curator of the National Gallery of Victoria and Master of the School of Art. The National Gallery of Victoria’s first acquisitions had given the infant collection a Germanic flavour. Trustee Sir Redmond Barry had asked Sir Charles Eastlake, then President of the Royal Academy and Director of the National Gallery London to select contemporary paintings that would appeal to the public and lead them to artistic perceptions.4 Eastlake had drawn on his feeling for the art which had inspired him in his developing years in Rome (1816-1830), where the German Nazarenes were revolutionizing contemporary painting with subjects from the Bible and national history in a linear style.5 Such pictures, as those chosen for the Melbourne Gallery collection, had been popular during the early years of Queen Victoria’s reign when she and Albert, Prince Consort were the tastemakers but were by the mid 1860s rather outmoded. The paintings have to be viewed in the context of Anglo-Germanic national aspiration which prevailed throughout the 19th century.6 Bunyan in Prison (1864), by the Munich-trained George Frederick Folingsby, depicts John Bunyan (1628-1688) the British Baptist imprisoned in Bedford Jail for preaching without a licence (plate 12). Bunyan is reading his The Pilgrim’s Progress to an enthralled audience.7 Folingsby thus portrays a significant episode in Britain’s history. The National Gallery of Victoria was unusual in buying work by contemporary foreign artists; even by 1897 the National Gallery, London had purchased no paintings by contemporary, European artists and received only six such pictures from donations.8

George Frederick Folingsby subsequently emigrated to Melbourne in 1879 and established a reputation as a portrait painter.9 His studio in Flinders Lane, Melbourne contained works which he had brought out from Europe, including studies by
Munich-trained artists Hans Makart and Gabriel Max and was a haven for art lovers. Folingsby's wife Clara was a recognized landscapist of the Bavarian school. In 1882 Folingsby was appointed Director of the National Gallery of Victoria and Master of the School of Art, after von Guerard had retired at the end of 1881 and returned to Europe. Folingsby remained in the position until his death in 1891. He advised on purchases and revolutionized art education in Melbourne. Born in Ireland, he had studied at the Munich Academy for seven years from 1852 and briefly in Paris under Thomas Couture. Folingsby's training had been devoted almost entirely to figure painting. He had practised successfully as a history and portrait painter in Munich for the last twenty-five years. In Munich Folingsby had studied under Carl von Piloty, who was the leading German exponent of a more naturalistic style of history painting, ushered in by Frenchman Paul Delaroche. Von Piloty's paintings concentrate on anecdotal or incidental scenes, not on momentous occasions, while the figures wear the costumes distinctive to the country depicted and are set against localized backgrounds. His subjects are noble in thought. *Seni Before the Corpse of Wallenstein* (1855) shows an episode in the Thirty Years' War: the dead Wallenstein, the Bohemian-born general who commanded the imperial forces for the Emperor of Austria (plate 13). Wallenstein had betrayed the Emperor and was subsequently murdered by British officers in 1634. Standing beside the body, Seni, Wallenstein's astrologer, wears the costume of his practice. Folingsby completely transformed art teaching methods in Melbourne. At the Gallery School he instilled the principles of the Munich figurative tradition into a generation of students who became figure painters grounded in the fundamentals of drawing. Folingsby immediately abolished the practice of copying and introduced a course of sound academic training which was enthusiastically welcomed by his pupils. The separate schools of Design and Painting were co-ordinated and he introduced a legitimate life class where students studied from the nude model. Folingsby's successor, Lindsay Bernard Hall, had also studied at the Munich Academy and continued to teach the Munich system for the next forty years.

Folingsby's enthusiasm, resulting from his German training, for history and genre subjects depicting the lifestyle peculiar to the country concerned, took root in the paintings of his many students. Under Folingsby an Australian national school of painting burst forth in the art school which was sponsored by the government and public-minded citizens. In Frederick McCubbin's *Home Again* (1884), the influence of Folingsby and the Munich school is clearly seen in the domestic genre, the dramatic storyline, the grey brown tonality, the figures painted from life and placed across the floor, and the device of an open doorway connecting the interior scene with the exterior (plate 14). The painting also has a strong national character. In 1883
Folingsby instituted an annual public exhibition and sale of students' work. Cash prizes were awarded by various philanthropic citizens as well as by the Gallery trustees.²⁰ Three years later Folingsby initiated the Travelling Scholarship, for study overseas of £150 per annum, to be awarded every three years by the trustees.²¹ These introductions were of tremendous importance for the development of nineteenth century, Australian subject painting and the popular appreciation of Australian art. Large scale figure compositions with distinctly Australian subjects followed, painted by John Longstaff, David Davies and Aby Alston. Folingsby encouraged the academic practice of painting landscape sketches directly from nature, prior to highly finished studio works, which would have facilitated some of his students' adoption of *plein air* techniques.²² It was landscape that dominated the imagery of this generation of Australian artists. In 1886 Frederick McCubbin was appointed Master of the School of Design. No training of such a high standard as that offered in Melbourne, was available elsewhere in Australia. It is necessary first to produce the artists and create the taste for art before the art begins to flow into the market. Carl Pirschof would later be a patron of some of Folingsby's students: Fred McCubbin, Bertram Mackennal and Emanuel Phillips Fox. Folingsby's teaching was generally praised in the press though some members of the public objected that he over-insisted on the style and methods of the Munich school, ignoring the English school of art.²³

As Director of the National Gallery of Victoria, Folingsby advised the trustees on purchases, often preferring German art. In 1884 the trustees bought six pictures, all of them German, when London art dealer Henry Wallis brought an exhibition to Melbourne. Their purchases included a large genre, *Love's Pilgrimage* by Munich-trained Nikolaus Gysis, and a landscape by Karl Heffner, one of the leading landscapists of the modern Munich school.²⁴ From 1885 the Dutch family of painters and art dealers H. Koekkoek and Sons was importing to Melbourne significant genre and history paintings and landscapes and seascapes of the German school as well as Dutch and lesser-quality English landscapes.²⁵ Koekkoek already had galleries throughout Britain and anticipated Melbourne collectors to follow English taste. The Trustees of The National Gallery of Victoria bought Vacsian Brozik's *Défénestation, 1618* from the Koekkoek 1890 Autumn Exhibition. This painting depicts an incident which began the Thirty Years' War. Brozik had studied under Piloty and Hungarian painter Mihaly Munkácsy and had won medals in Austria, Germany, Belgium and France. The trustees paid £2000 for this work making it the gallery's most expensive purchase in 1890.²⁶ Alongside the Koekkoek dealers, the Royal Anglo-Australian Society of Artists, founded in 1889 and conceived as a colonial exhibiting branch of the Royal Academy London, made English landscapes and social realist and poetic neo-classical paintings available. However with
Melbourne's economic collapse these two important sources would be discontinued by 1893.\(^27\)

Upon Folingsby's death in 1891 at the sale of the contents of his studio, the bidding was spirited and Mr Wallen, Mr Hines and Dr L.L. Smith were among the well-known art lovers who purchased works.\(^28\) Mrs William Riggall bought *Autumn* (1882) by Folingsby, a large painting of an elegant young woman set against a landscape background and tinged with anecdotal interest. This work clearly shows Folingsby's Munich Academy training as a figure painter skilled in depicting costume (plate 15). *Autumn* was widely appreciated through photogravures.\(^29\)

The acquisition of German art by Frederick Armytage, Robert Kinnear and Carl Pinschof represents a small trend within British colonial culture. The majority of patrons were Anglo-Australians concerned with British cultural trends though there was a general interest in developments on the Continent. Most collectors in Victoria acquired English landscapes thus the number of figurative pictures purchased was small. When collectors did buy figurative works the most important pieces were German and a straightforward realist, dramatic, domestic and moralistic genre was popular.\(^30\)

Victoria's most significant collector of German art in the nineteenth century was Frederick Armytage.\(^31\) His collection of contemporary German, English, French and Italian pictures at his home 'Wooloomanata' near Lara, was the most important assembled in Victoria. Unlike the majority of collections his was formed according to qualitative standards of connoisseurship.\(^32\) He frequently entertained vice-royalty and also generously loaned pictures to exhibitions. He and his wife engaged in various philanthropic pursuits as well.\(^33\) Armytage's family connections with continental Europe made him susceptible to the foreign schools.\(^34\) He travelled to Europe every few years and purchased works. Armytage, of the prominent family who derived its wealth from the pastoral industry, spent nearly £20,000 on his pictures in the 1880s.\(^35\) On his return from abroad in 1882, Armytage brought with him two landscapes by the much-in-vogue Karl Heffner. Thereafter Armytage's principal purchases were to be paintings of the German school.\(^36\) His collection included many genre works: A. Holmberg's *Music Lesson*, G. Bochman's *Horse Fair in Hungary* and Cardinal's visit to the Cellar by E. Grützner (1846-1925) who specialized in this comic genre. Armytage also owned paintings by Carl Hoff, Eisenhut, T. Weber, P. Joanowitch and H. Kauffmann (plate 16).\(^37\) However Armytage's passion was for the work of Hungarian artist, Mihály von Munkácsy (1844-1900). Munkácsy studied in Budapest, Vienna, Düsseldorf, Munich and Paris.
His landscapes, genre, history and biblical paintings, employing realism, brilliant colours and strong contrasts, were an enormous success throughout Europe. At the Melbourne Koekkoek Exhibition of 1889, Armytage bought Munkácsy's *A la Promenade* for £3,500 and *My Old Mother's Song* for £4,000. The purchase of these important and costly works was a major event for Melbourne. The following year in London, Armytage acquired *The Two Families* (c.1875) for £5,000. This painting of a sumptuous Parisian interior was a major Munkácsy and known around the world by engravings. Throughout the 1870s Munkácsy painted a series of these Parisian interiors (plate 17). Unfortunately Armytage found himself in financial difficulties in the mid 1890s and in order to defer his English creditors, his collection was sent to London and sold at Christie's in 1897. This was a great loss to Victoria and Armytage himself lost heavily on the sale. Munkácsy's works suffered the most dramatic depreciation as by the end of the century the taste for patriotic genre and history painting was no longer internationally fashionable.

Robert Kinnear, who came to Victoria from Scotland in 1839, was Melbourne's second most prominent collector of German figure pieces. His wife was German and several of their important pictures were commissioned on trips to Germany. Their most notable painting was *The Golden Wedding* (1883) by Carl Hoff (1838-1890). Hoff studied at Düsseldorf and in 1878 was appointed professor at the Karlsruhe Academy. He was famous for his genre and costume subjects. *The Golden Wedding* contains portraits of Kinnear and his wife. It is a major work, conceived as a seventeenth century period piece. Measuring some 3.13 x 18.20 meters it covered an entire wall of the drawing room of their Toorak house. After Kinnear's death, at the sale of his collection in 1907, the painting was purchased by the Bendigo Art Gallery where today it is prominently displayed. The Kinnears also had two genre pieces by Hoff. Wilhelm von Kaulbach's *Anacreon*, depicting the Greek lyric poet, was part of their collection too. Von Kaulbach, (1805-1874) the celebrated history painter, had studied under Nazarene Peter von Cornelius and his frescoes adorn castles and public buildings in Munich and Berlin. From 1849 Kaulbach was Director of the Munich Academy. Kinnear also collected pleasant landscapes by contemporary English artists. Kinnear showed a sense of community spirit by opening his art collection in Toorak each Saturday afternoon to the public. He also had paintings in his homestead on the Goulburn River.

Pinschof assisted the Austrian-born and Munich-trained artist, Carl Kahler (1856-1906) to come to Melbourne in 1885. Pinschof had helped many of his countrymen to immigrate. Interest in Melbourne was worldwide after the gold boom and the 1880 International Exhibition. The mid 1880s saw an influx of other immigrant
artists which gave Melbourne's art scene more variety. Arthur Loureiro had studied in Oporto, Lisbon, Rome, Paris and London. Charles Rolando, Ugo Catani and Girolamo Nerli had attended the Florence Academy.\textsuperscript{56} These painters brought a close knowledge of European art methods to the attention of local artists and to the public through exhibitions. Carl Kahler's paintings had been reproduced by the great publishing houses as photogravures, and engravings of his work appeared in the leading journals \textit{Über Land und Meer} and \textit{Illustrierte Zeitung}. \textsuperscript{57} Pinschof would have seen Kahler's work as these papers were readily obtainable in Melbourne with its large German-speaking community. Private collectors in Russia and the United States had purchased Kahler's paintings and the Austrian government had bought his \textit{The Queen of the Season} (1882) for the National Gallery in Vienna.\textsuperscript{58} While in Europe, Kahler had been based in Munich and had exhibited in the principle centres of art.

Pinschof had grown up in Vienna surrounded by paintings in his family home, he had witnessed Emperor Franz Josef's patronage of contemporary artists and was well aware of the grandeur of court life and the great interest that generations of the Habsburg dynasty had taken in art and music. Skilled in business, Pinschof felt that he was in a position to do something for the arts in Australia. It was the custom in Europe for special occasions to be recorded by the leading artists for posterity; those who had been present, subscribing for their portraits to be painted into the scene. In 1882 a French critic, referring to Kahler's \textit{The Summer} (a scene in the pleasure grounds of the castle of Princess Arenberg with groupings of people passing the time carelessly), praised the artist as "a keen observer of contemporary life and manners, and full of humour."\textsuperscript{59} In this manner Pinschof had Kahler record the festivals important to Melbourne.\textsuperscript{60}

Kahler's major works executed in Melbourne were three large canvases of the Spring Race Meeting (plates 18 and 19).\textsuperscript{61} This racing carnival, with the ladies in their finery and gentlemen in top hats, was seen as an occasion that demonstrated that Australia possessed a wealthy and sophisticated city and social élite comparable to those in Europe.\textsuperscript{62} When Kahler embarked on his large canvas \textit{Derby Day, 1886} (1889) it caused considerable excitement in society circles. This scene on the lawn at Flemington, opposite the winning post after the Victoria Racing Club Derby, shows the Governor's wife, Lady Loch, placing the winner's sash on Trident (plate 19). Headed by Sir Henry Loch and Lady Loch, the Wealth and Beauty of Victoria gave the artist its support. No doubt certain members of the upper class sought the prestige of being immortalized as part of the Governor's circle. Each figure in the crowd is an individual portrait, sat for in Kahler's studio and for which he received five guineas.\textsuperscript{63}
While these people were more than willing to participate in this arrangement, certain sections of the press regarded with suspicion this practice which was different from the Australian system of patronage. They considered this procedure unethical and accused Kahler of soliciting patronage, despite it being an accepted practice in Europe.\textsuperscript{64} Pinschof, with his keen business sense, arranged that photographs of Kahler's Flemington paintings be sent to the well-known firm Messrs Goupil of Paris for reproduction by the photogravure process. Pfaff, Pinschof & Co. purchased the copyright from the artist and by November 1890 had published the pictures together with identity keys. Some 1300, 48 x 79 centimeter prints were made so that the pictured members could all purchase and own a copy for 10 guineas each.\textsuperscript{65} It is doubtful whether a profit was made; the cost probably just covered the expenses.

Kahler's panoptic, crowded Flemington scenes show the 19th century European fascination for the immense and the detailed and are not necessarily painted in the grand German manner. They were most probably inspired by the crowd scenes of modern life by the English painter William Powell Frith, particularly his Derby Day (1858) which had been reproduced as engravings and was enormously popular with the public (plate 20).\textsuperscript{66} Table Talk predicted that Kahler's The Lawn at Flemington on Cup Day, 1887 (1887) bids fair to become as popular as Frith's Derby Day.\textsuperscript{67} Details of the poses and the composition bear a striking resemblance.\textsuperscript{68} With the wealth of the 1880s came a greater opportunity for Melburnians to move up in society. As a recent arrival in Australia and a portrait painter of the new rich, Kahler was aware of the realities of Melbourne's social structure. Thus in his Derby Day, 1886 he painted the masses jumping over the fences to mingle with the elite and the industrial chimneys are visible in the distance.\textsuperscript{69} Whereas in Frith's painting the British class structure is distinct and inflexible. Paintings of present-day crowded events were very popular in Europe where Kahler's contemporaries, such as Wilhelm Gause in Vienna, specialized in them (plate 21).\textsuperscript{70} In Kahler's canvases the academic method of working from portraits of every person and the meticulous detail, result in the overall effect being static; figures appear as if stuck on. He probably referred to racing scenes and fashion plates in the popular press. Kahler's paintings are rather showy, nevertheless they are important documents of the era and of significance in Australia's growth to nationhood. Kahler's Derby Day, 1886 received enthusiastic reviews when it was hung in the upper hall of the Athenaeum, Melbourne, in January 1889 with an admission price of one shilling.\textsuperscript{71} The public appreciated it because it depicts an event known by every Australian while the groupings of figures heighten the human interest. The leading art critic James Smith wrote a lengthy pamphlet of a highly eulogistic character about The Lawn at Flemington on Cup Day, 1887 and the
artist’s career.\textsuperscript{72} Table Talk even reported that Kahler had refused the unbelievable amount of £8,000 for this large canvas.\textsuperscript{73}

Many patrons find helping and socializing with artists personally rewarding. Pinschof must have found his relationship with such a romantic and interesting figure as Kahler, a change from his merchant business and an enriching experience. Financing Kahler and owning his paintings would have been gratifying for Pinschof.\textsuperscript{74} Kahler was by far the most publicized painter in Melbourne and was generally regarded as a successful and sophisticated European artist. His studio in Elizabeth Street was in the style of the fashionable Austrian artist Hans Makart, filled with antiques and rare artifacts brought with him from Europe (plates 22 and 23). It was frequently the subject of comment in Table Talk and invitations to visit it were much sought after.\textsuperscript{75} Kahler practised as a successful portrait painter in Melbourne; the vice regal couple and their children sat for Kahler and their portraits were shown in the inaugural exhibition of the Australian Artists’ Association and exhibitions of the Victorian Artists’ Society.\textsuperscript{76} Kahler also painted a portrait of Miss Miller, daughter of prominent art collector Henry Miller of the Bank of Victoria.\textsuperscript{77} Pinschof was a good friend of Kahler and the two men, both in their mid thirties socialized together. They attended a farewell for Alfred Pfaff in 1890 along with other members of the German community, namely Herren Brahe, the German Consul, Püttmann the writer, Himmer the opera singer and Professor Hartung, President of the German club.\textsuperscript{78}

In his inventory of his collection, made in 1914, Pinschof wrote that Kahler was a native of Salzburg, that he had studied in Munich and that many of his pictures were in European galleries. Pinschof himself considered these details important while at the same time they added weight to the paintings in his collection. He notes the value of each of the three Flemington paintings as £1000. Today they grace the walls of the committee room at the Flemington Race Course.\textsuperscript{79}

After completing his series of Flemington paintings, Kahler announced his intention of further travel. Shortly before his departure in 1890, Gemmell Tuckett & Co. auctioned his paintings and pastels and antiques.\textsuperscript{80} Evening and the traditional Judith with the Head of Holofernes as well as Clandestine Meeting, depicting a pair of lovers in Louis Quatorze costume, were purchased by Dr L.L. Smith whose collection of over 100 works was dominated by 17th century old masters.\textsuperscript{81} He was, however, also an early patron of Tom Roberts.\textsuperscript{82} Mr F. Rakow acquired items en bloc for his new home: four paintings totalling £530 including a sentimental genre scene, set in the Royal Palace, Munich and A Turkish Slave and decorative arts to the value of
The German-born art collector and merchant, Wilhelm Prell was also a spirited bidder. Pinschof expended £150 at least. He purchased *A Secret* showing two ladies seated in the garden of the Hellbrunn Palace in Salzburg. *Mutual Breakfast*, he wrote in his inventory, he bought "for mother". The painting portrays a lady in rococo costume, feeding a kitten, set in a castle in Bruchsal, Germany. *At the Opera* depicts the Governor of Salzburg, the wife of the Hawaiian Ambassador at Vienna and an attaché of the Persian Embassy, in a box at the Residenz Theatre in Munich (plate 22). Pinschof noted that the painting was based on another by the artist which had been purchased by the Berlin National Gallery. In all, Pinschof owned ten works by Kahler. At the Pinschof's home in The Avenue, Windsor, Kahler's paintings were a lavish display of wealth and gracious living for their many important guests. a sign of an appreciation for the finer things of life.

Further, the collection of opulent paintings would have reflected the spirit of its owners: a consul for the Austro-Hungarian Empire and a singer of grand opera. Kahler's paintings of New Zealand's volcanic region and its romantic surroundings must have appealed to Pinschof with his European interest in the natural wonders of the Southern Hemisphere. *New Zealand White Terraces* painted before the motif, was also part of the Pinschofs' collection. Julius von Harist, Director of the Museum at Christchurch, had offered Kahler 1000 guineas for the painting, which the artist refused. Pinschof may have paid Kahler more or been given it by the artist. This is one of the few landscapes by a German artist that Pinschof owned.

The Pinschofs also had works by other Continental artists. The portrait of Pinschof's mother by Dux (1867) and that of Elise Wiedermann by Lafite (1870) were brought out from Vienna and formed part of the Pinschofs' collection. *Kierling am Wechsel* by Hefft, depicting a scene in the mountains of Lower Austria, had been a present to Fräulein Elise Wiedermann from the artist and was also brought from Vienna. *On The River Schelde* by I.V.D. Helder showed the picturesque river in Belgium and was a gift to Pinschof from a visiting Berlin art dealer. Around 1901 Pinschof would also buy many paintings from the Hungarian artist Baron Arpad Paszthory, to help him carry on his art during his sojourn in Melbourne. From 1891 on, with the exception of the paintings by Paszthory and gifts, the Pinschofs would acquire art entirely by Australian artists.
IV The Taste for German Art


2 At the first meeting of the Victorian Society of Fine Arts Becker proposed that an appropriate building be erected adjoining the Public Library (The Argus, 30 October 1856, pp. 4-5.) Later James Smith referred to the establishment of a local Academy of Art and ultimately a National Gallery (The Argus, 5 November 1856, pp. 4-5.) Smith did not acknowledge Becker as the progenitor, Marjorie Tipping, Ludwig Becker: Artist and Naturalist with the Burke and Wills Expedition, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1979, pp. 14 and 72.


4 Barry Papers, La Trobe Collection, quoted by Ann Galbally in her, The Collections of the National Gallery of Victoria, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1987, p. 16.


7 John Bunyan reading the Pilgrim's Progress to his Friends in Bedford Gaol, drawing, lot 7, Melbourne, Gemmell, Tuckett & Co., Catalogue of the fine collection of oil paintings, sketches, artists materials...of the late G.F. Folingsby...to be sold on March 18 1891, catalogue cited by Ruth Zubans, "George Frederick Folingsby (1828-1891)" entry in Australian Dictionary of Biography, vol. 4, 1972, pp. 193-194; p. 194.


9 Folingsby's first commissions were portraits of David Mitchell and Sir Redmond Barry, Clark and Whitelaw, 1986, p.17.


11 See American and English reviews of her work in the 1860s and 1870s in Melbourne, Gemmell, Tuckett & Co., Catalogue of the fine collection of oil paintings, sketches...of the late G.F Folingsby...1891


13 The following information on Folingsby's training and his course of instruction is based on Zubans, 1972, pp. 193-194 and Table Talk, 9 January 1891, p. 11, cited by Zubans.


17 Zubans, 1972, p. 194.


22 Astbury, 1978, p. 54.

23 A letter to *The Argus*, 31 December 1885 drew attention to Folingsby's "well known prejudices against English art and artists...in favour of the Munich School, in which he was educated". Quoted by Leigh Astbury in his *City Bushmen: The Heidelberg School and The Rural Mythology*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1985, p. 36.

24 Trustees Report for 1884 and *The Argus*, 23 August 1884, cited by Vaughan, 1976, vol. 1, pp. 67-68. Heflin had also spent time in England studying works of Turner and Constable and in Paris looked at paintings of Courbet and Diaz. His work was well known in England and Europe. See Thieme and Becker, 1923, *Sechzehnter Band*, pp. 228-229. At the end of the year, Wallis mounted a second show, *Contini ed appeal to a broad cross-section of the art-buying public, it was devoted exclusively to watercolours and was dominated by English landscapes with some foreign genre and figurative works. See Vaughan, 1976, vol. 1, pp. 67-68.


27 *Royal Anglo-Australian Society of Artists' Catalogue*, Melbourne, 1890, cited by Vaughan, 1976, vol. 1, p. 76 and bibliography p. 77. The stimulus for the society came from some businessmen in Melbourne to form a type of exhibiting branch of the Royal Academy to send works out to Melbourne.


29 *ibid*.


32 Vaughan, 1976, p. 80.

33 Armytage loaned pictures for at least six exhibitions in Melbourne and Geelong between 1876 and 1892, numerous references cited by Vaughan, 1978, pp. 36 and 43 note 11. In 1883 Frederick and Mary Armytage established a £1000 scholarship at Trinity College, the University of

34 Frederick Armytage was born in Van Dieman’s Land in 1838. His father had grown up in Belgium. Frederick had an uncle and aunts living in Europe, Sutherland (ed.), 1888, vol II and Hone, 1969, p. 52, cited by Vaughan, 1978, p. 36.


41 ibid.

42 Twenty-eight principal pictures were offered for sale realizing a total of slightly more than £7,296. Munkácsy’s A la Promenade for which Armytage had paid £3,500 in Melbourne in 1889 brought only £199. *The Two Families* by Munkácsy purchased for at least £5,000 fetched £997, ibid.


47 Exhibition of Pictures. Gems from the Collection of the late R.H. Kinnear, Glen’s Concert Room, Melbourne (1907), cited by Vaughan, 1976, bibliography p. 73 and Bendigo Art Gallery acquisition records.

48 The Unexpected Return and The Promise, Table Talk 31 January 1890, p. 3.

49 Exhibition of Pictures. Gems from the Collection of the late R.H. Kinnear, Glen’s Concert Room, Melbourne (1907).

51 English landscapes by Sam Bough and Edward Duncan (1803-1882) and by David Cox (1783-1859) and Myles Birket Foster (1825-1899), *Table Talk*, 31 January 1890, p. 3 and *People's Palace, Exhibition of the Loan Collection of Pictures held in the Art Gallery, Exhibition Buildings*, March, 1891, Melbourne, 1891, cat. nos. 185 and 221.


53 *Table Talk*, 31 January 1890, p. 3.

54 Carl Kahler had studied at the Munich Academy from 1876 to 1880 under Hildensberger and history and landscape painters Professors Ludwig von Löfftz and Wilhelm von Lindenschmit the younger (James Smith, *Herr Kahler’s Celebrated Historical Picture of The Lawn at Flemington on Cup Day with a Biographical Sketch of the Artist*, McCarron, Bird & Co., Melbourne, 1889, pp. 2-3 and entry for Kahler in Thieme and Becker, *Neunzehnter Band*, 1928, p. 437.) Lindenschmit's work absorbed the various trends of the time; Piloty style history painting, Courbet realism as well as *Freilichmalerei*. Horst et. al., *Dritter Band*, pp. 61-63.

55 As consul, Pinschof assisted his countrymen to immigrate.


57 Smith, 1889, p. 1.

58 *ibid.*, p. 4.

59 *ibid.*

60 Pinschof's daughter Elisabeth Finley said that her father had financed Kahler's Flemington race paintings, Finley interview with Mancini 1979. Pfaff, Pinschof & Co. purchased the copyright from Kahler and published photogravures, *Table Talk*, 15 November, 1889, p. 5.

61 The third painting *The Betting Ring* (1889) is not as interesting visually and the scene is not relevant to the discussion of patronage.

62 In a letter to Kahler of 1886 Lady Loch wrote that she would show him a dress and that when they go to the Melbourne Cup he would certainly see some beautiful dresses there, Carl Kahler correspondence 1885-1887, La Trobe Library, Box 131/1H 17350.

63 Mary Mackay, "For a mere five guineas, Carl would paint you in next to the Governor", *Sydney Morning Herald, Good Weekend* Supplement, 24 December 1983, p. 29 (article announcing the coming exhibition at the S.H. Ervin Gallery Pastures and Pastimes, An Exhibition of Australian Racing, Sporting and Animal Pictures' curated by Colin Laverty).

64 *The Ararat Advertiser* alleged that Kahler charged prominent members of Melbourne society five guineas for including their portraits in his painting *Derby Day, 1886* and Kahler instigated a libel suit against the paper. However he subsequently instructed his solicitors to drop the charge. Mackay, 1983, p. 29.

37-38. Neither Carl nor Elise Pinschof is identified in the keys in David Lee Bernstein, First Tuesday in November, Heinemann, Melbourne, 1969, Appendix, pp. 340-350. However Pinschof's daughter Elisabeth Finley recalled that her father bought his daughters new outfits for their portraits in Kahler's Flemington paintings. Elisabeth would have been aged two and Carmen aged three. Finley interview with Mancini 1979.


67 Table Talk, 16 December 1887, pp. 1-2; p. 2.

68 Compare the figure of the man apparently cleaned out by his losses on the right in Kahler's Derby Day with the young man on the left in Frith's painting. Note also the Aboriginal boy in the centre wearing a red suit in the Kahler and the little acrobat in the centre in the Frith painting.

69 Mackay, 1983, p. 29.


71 Table Talk, 11 January 1889, p. 11.

72 James Smith, Herr Kahler's Celebrated Historical Picture of The Lawn at Flemington on Cup Day with a Biographical Sketch of the Artist, McCarron, Bird & Co., Melbourne, 1889.

73 Table Talk, 23 December 1887, p. 2.

74 See note 60. Pinschof's inventory lists 10 paintings by Kahler. See Appendix.

75 Table Talk, 14 February 1890, p. 6. There are many letters to Herr Kahler from patrons wishing to visit his studio included in the Carl Kahler correspondence La Trobe Library, Box 131/1H 17350.

76 At the inaugural exhibition of the Australian Artists' Association in September 1886 at Buxton's Gallery opened by the Governor Sir Henry Loch, pride of place was given to Carl Kahler's full-length portrait of Lady Loch, Gill, 1970, p. 11. To the critic James Smith, Kahler was "Like Watteau, the painter of high life", The Argus, 7 September 1886, p. 7, Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, Victorian Vision: 1834 Onwards, Christine Downer and Jennifer Phipps, 1985, p. 46. Kahler also exhibited at the second exhibition of the Australian Artists' Association, March 1887 and at the Victorian Artists' Society's winter exhibition of 1889, Melbourne, Victorian Artists' Society, Pastures and Pastimes, Colin Laverty, 1983, p. 36.

77 Pinschof inventory 1914.

78 Table Talk, 18 April 1890.

79 The husband of Pinschof's daughter Elisabeth, Walter Moore Finley, took Kahler's paintings of Flemington to Tye's furniture basement in Bourke Street where they hung for many years. In 1964 they were presented to the Victoria Racing Club by the families of the late George Tye. Elisabeth Finley interview with Anne Mancini 1979 and Ross Bradfield, Assistant Race Course Manager, Flemington, pers. comm. 13 February, 1990.

80 Table Talk, 14 February 1890 p. 6 and Gemmell, Tuckett & Co., An Artist's Sanctuary: Catalogue raisonné of the contents of Herr Kahler's Studio. To be sold by auction in the studio, No. 19 Elizabeth Street, Melbourne on Thursday 20th February, 1890 and Gemmel, Tuckett &
Co., Catalogue of the unrivalled collection of oil paintings and pastels of Herr Kahler to be sold by auction at Tuckett Chambers, Collins Street, Melbourne on 7 May, 1890. Kahler went to the United States and in San Francisco painted people of prominence and pictures of Angora cats. He completed The Artists’ Studio, Melbourne, which he had begun in Australia. In New York his portraits included that of President Theodore Roosevelt’s son, Archie on his favourite pony. He also painted Steel, Steam, Electricity: The Giants of the World. Sadly he died in the San Francisco earthquake in 1906. A posthumous exhibition of his work was held in New York in 1907. This information is from an extract from an exhibition catalogue (1907?) enclosed in a letter written in 1984 from an art gallery in Fifth Avenue, New York to Ms Christine Downer, La Trobe Library. This is held in the subject file under Kahler, Picture Collection, La Trobe Library.

81 People’s Palace Exhibition of Loan Collection of Pictures held in the Art Gallery, Exhibition Buildings, March, 1891, cat. nos. 1-103.


83 Table Talk, 28 February 1890, p. 5.


85 Pinschof inventory 1914, Table Talk, 28 February 1890, p. 5 and Gemmell, Tuckett & Co. 20th February, 1890, lot 83.

86 Gemmell, Tuckett & Co. 20th February 1890, lot 94.

87 This may be The Queen of the Season ibid. lot 84.

88 Gemmell, Tuckett & Co. 7 May 1890, lot 26. The February auction catalogue mentions that Kahler painted the boiling springs on the spot in New Zealand, lot 109.

89 Pinschof inventory 1914.

90 ibid.

91 ibid.

92 ibid. and Finley interview with Mancini 1979.

93 Visiting artist Signor Ettore Cadorin gave Pinschof a sculpture Venice. Pinschof’s inventory notes that “Mr. P” is written in relief in clay. At the Victorian Artists’ Society Council Meeting 8 August 1913 Miss Violet Teague proposed that Signor Cadorin should be elected an Honorary Member of the society during the term of his visit to Australia, Victorian Artists’ Society Minute Book 9 February 1909 - 7 August 1917, La Trobe Library. Pinschof was attending the meetings
at this time. Pinschof acquired three paintings by Miss Mizi Pinschof. She may have given him them in 1903. She was nominated at the V.A.S. meeting 10 December 1903, Minute Book 13 February 1902 - 8 December 1908.
CHAPTER V

The Centennial International Exhibition
and the Taste for Art and Music

Melbourne's pride and rapid wealth culminated in the lavish 1888 Centennial International Exhibition, staged to commemorate the first white settlement of Australia. Since 1881 Melbourne's population had nearly doubled, reaching 432,350 in 1888. Millions of pounds had poured into Victoria from British investors eager to traffic in inflated land values. No effort and expense was spared to make the Exhibition an ostentatious celebration of Victoria's achievements and to secure international attention and participation on an even grander scale than with the 1880 International Exhibition. The huge display of art and industry ran from August 1888 to February 1889. Though technology was foremost, the large art galleries and the spectacular music festival were of enormous importance to the growth of culture in Melbourne.

Pinschof was on many of the Exhibition committees including Fine Arts, Manufactures, Finance and Buildings and Gardens. For the opening ceremony, Pinschof, together with the other foreign consuls, the Exhibition Commission and the Governors of the colonies, welcomed, at the entrance to the building, the Governor Sir Henry Loch. Afterwards Pinschof received the Governor in front of the Austro-Hungarian Court in the Grand Avenue of Nations. As resident consul, Pinschof was appointed Commissioner for the Austrian Court. Pfaff, Pinschof & Co. were sole agents for numerous products in the Austrian, German, Dutch, Belgian, French, Italian and Ceylon Courts. Papers, ink and wooden types, photographic apparatus, pianos and industrial sewing machines were some of the numerous items that the firm handled. In 1890 Pinschof received the Ritterkreuz des Franz Josef Ordens for his contribution to the success of the Austrian-Hungarian display. This would have been a tremendous honour for Pinschof. The principal exhibits of the Austrian Court were exquisite glassware and porcelain. Thonet of Vienna displayed over 100 pieces of bentwood furniture, already popular with Australians which included handsomely-upholstered drawing room suites which were highly admired and for which Messrs Pfaff, Pinschof & Co. were the sole agents. The superb display of ceramic wares was also greatly admired and gave the public the opportunity to appreciate elegance of design and the perfection of decorative art. The Trustees of the National Gallery of Victoria bought heavily at the Exhibition acquiring ceramics and glass from
Austria, Italy and England. A splendid stained glass window, manufactured in Innsbruck, was presented to Victoria by F.X. Katzmayr, the Executive Commissioner for Austria and can still be seen in the Reception Room in the Melbourne Town Hall (plate 24).

At the Centennial Exhibition the bulk of the displays was made up of machinery. By the late 1880s Germany's industrial development challenged the British hegemony. Germany's contribution to the Centennial Exhibition was therefore greater than it had been in the previous International Exhibition. German banking outlets and mercantile houses, concentrating on German-Australian trade, had been established in Victoria following the 1880 Exhibition and importers of German goods and German exporters no longer had to rely upon British banks, merchant houses and British commission agents. From the mid 1880s, regular German steamships visited Australian ports. Pinschof himself was in the forefront of all these developments. Germany set up a commanding winged statue of Victory which welcomed visitors to the main hall of the Exhibition Building, offering her congratulations to Australia on the attainment of her centenary (plate 25). It was given to Victoria and remained in the gallery over the Nicholson Street entrance, an admirable companion figure to that in the gallery of the southern nave, which had been presented at the close of the 1880 International Exhibition. It was hoped that the Exhibition would improve international relations. At the time the press spoke out against Germany expanding her influence in New Guinea and Samoa. The Age proclaimed:

It will speedily become apparent to foreign visitors that the aspirations of France and Germany to found a colonial empire in the Pacific akin to that of England are but idle dreams. Such tropical settlements as they may make must always be politically insignificant, since they cannot absorb a large European population; and, commercially, they must always be mere affluents of Australian trade...Nothing is so likely to prevent in the future the friction which has occurred in the past, and which has elevated Australia into the position of having something like a foreign policy, than the knowledge abroad that the Australian colonists, instead of being ignorant and uncultivated boors, are an intelligent, enterprising and wealthy community, and a high spirited one.

A slow but steady deterioration in Australian-German relations had set in.

A significant statement on taste in Melbourne in the eighties was the response to the art galleries in the Centennial Exhibition. From Great Britain came a large collection of works by British artists representing more than a century, with examples of the old,
intermediate and contemporary schools. Highly successful artists of the Royal Academy London predominated; however, as *The Age* pointed out, many important artists were absent and in a number of cases the works did not reflect the real powers of the artist.\textsuperscript{13} Living artists especially were scanty represented in the collection. There were works offered for sale as well as many lent by royalty, nobility and by northern industrialists.\textsuperscript{14} According to the *Official Record*, Vicat Cole's sylvan scene *Ripening Sunbeams* was perhaps the most popular painting in the British collection.\textsuperscript{15} This is testimony to the widely-held belief that the British excelled in landscape. J.M.W. Turner's romantic Northumberland seascape *Dunstanborough Castle* (1798) was a generous gift of the Duke of Westminster to the National Gallery of Victoria.\textsuperscript{16} Landscapes by John Constable were exhibited in the show also. The many dull, highland landscapes and hunting scenes, exhibited throughout the gallery, assured colonial collectors that this taste was well established among the gentry 'at home'. The British School of watercolour, commonly regarded as pre-eminent, was well represented, including landscapes by the late John Varley (1778-1842) and David Cox (1783-1859) as well as Myles Birket Foster (1825-1899). Portraiture, historical subjects and religious themes were all nobly exemplified in the show as well. Some great neo-classical works were displayed, including Sir Frederick Leighton's *Hercules Wrestling with Death for the Body of Alcestis* (1871). Albert Moore's non-communicative *Reading Aloud* (1884), perhaps the most progressive painting in the British gallery, showed his essential concern with aesthetics. *The Age* critic considered it "a delicate piece of affectation."\textsuperscript{17} There was a reluctance to buy contemporary English art, fashionable in England; colonial collectors and public galleries preferring pictures which clearly told a moral story rather than alluding to the heroic and poetically idealized. Australia was a young country and the general public uneducated; thus the majority did not understand these paintings. Two large works *St George and the Dragon* and *Young Bull and Herdsman* by the British sculptor Sir Joseph Edgar Boehm, sculptor to Queen Victoria, were purchased by the Trustees of the National Gallery of Victoria for the considerable amount of £1000 each.\textsuperscript{18}

The German Gallery displayed a large collection of oil paintings and sculpture and unlike the British Gallery was entirely devoted to contemporary art (plates 26 and 27).\textsuperscript{19} It is clear that the Artists' Association in Berlin, which represented the interests of Germany, was determined to establish a firm hold on the Australian market. Anton von Werner, Director of the Berlin Royal Academy, had assembled the representative collection of contemporary German art and all the works had been submitted to a jury of experts in the German Government.\textsuperscript{20} *The Argus* recognized why many important British and Continental artists did not send their art to the colonies, pointing out that
in most cases their work is sold right away in Europe. *The Argus* further explained that to some Continental artists the colonies were not sufficiently advanced in civilization to appreciate art. The small population and lack of enormously wealthy buyers also deterred overseas artists from seeking a market. However, *The Argus* did declare "we are bound to add that Germany thinks differently." 21 The choicer pictures, selected in Germany, were genre and landscapes. 22 *The Age* critic wrote "Germany sends a collection of great importance as regards numbers, and of fair average quality - little that can be called great, but much that is pleasing...they are of a class popular among a large section of lovers of pictures." 23 Carl Hoff showed *The Son's Farewell*, a picture of an eldest son bidding his family good-by before departing for the battlefield. As the *Official Guide* stated, this famous artist is already well known in Melbourne where he is represented in Melbourne private collections. 24 *The Argus* enthused "in the German landscapes generally ... You are struck by the sincerity of the painters, by their obvious determination to render not only what they see, but what they feel...and by the strength and thoroughness of their work." 25 Commentators acknowledged Hans Gude as being one of Germany's best landscape painters. 26 Melbourne collector Molesworth Greene bought Gude's realistic *After the Storm on the Norwegian Coast*. This was followed by several commissions to this Düsseldorf-trained artist by other Melbourne collectors, including an order from German merchant Wilhelm Prell for a pair of landscapes. 27 The National Gallery of Victoria chose Hermann Baisch's *Dutch Pastures, Morning*. 28 Art furniture manufacturer, Mr Cullis Hill, purchased an oak statue from the exhibition, by M. Vordermeyer, for his drawing room. The large female figure holding a spindle typified domestic industry. 29 The German Empire recognized itself in the painted propaganda of Anton von Werner. He had an international reputation for his portraits and pictures of contemporary history and genre. His *Prince Bismarck Speaking in the German Reichstag*, dealing with the Bulgarian question of 1887, was painted expressly for the Exhibition 30 and was no doubt a political manoeuvre to show that the German Empire also was against Russian expansion (plate 27). Gallery visitors stood gazing at the large portrait of Bismarck out of respect and were fascinated by its subject. 31 *The Age* considered it "a fine portrait" of "the man of blood and iron". 32 It was bought by the German Club in Melbourne and one could view it at the club until the First World War. 33 From the late Carl von Piloty, there was an impressive painting *Beneath the Arena*, depicting the corpse of a young Christian martyr. It was recognized in the press as an important classical work. 34 History painter, Ferdinand Keller (1842-1922), thought of in Europe as the Hans Makart of Baden, was also represented in the show. 35 Reinhold Begas responsible for many public monuments in Berlin, contributed the realistic life-size bronze *A Boy*, a fountain statue. 36
The fledgling collections of Victoria's regional galleries were also informed by the German cultural influences. In Warnambool, public subscription raised £1000 for the Museum and Art Gallery to purchase works of art from the Centennial Exhibition and Folingsby, Director of the National Gallery of Victoria, was commissioned to select works from the Australian and European paintings on display. Folingsby and the Town Council intended that the pictures should assist in the education of public taste as well as provide objects of study for the students who attended the School of Design. His Munich Academy training and attraction to the narrative account for the flavour of the sixteen German and French landscapes, portraits and genre paintings purchased, which gave Warnambool its credibility as a regional gallery. Purchases made by the Bendigo Art Gallery from the Exhibition include the large painting *Horse Fair* by Franz Hochmann of Munich. Bendigo Art Gallery Records reveal that the trustees were extremely taken with exhibits in the British Gallery but conceded that most of the works for sale were too expensive. They felt obliged to select works of foreign artists and those of the German school were the most desirable. This would have been in deference to the Anglo-Germanic racial origins while the moral subjects and thorough workmanship would have been highly regarded. The Bendigo Gallery also bought works from the Belgian and the French Courts at the Exhibition. During the following twenty years many more works by German, Dutch, French and Italian artists were to enter the collection. Local cultural influences helped determine the diversity of Bendigo's early acquisitions; Bendigo had a prominent German community. The Artists' Association in Berlin considered the display at the Melbourne Exhibition to have been an "honorable success of German art." As a result a collection was sent out by the German Artists' Association and displayed at the 1892 exhibition of the Royal Anglo-Australian Society of Artists. Aimed to sell well, it was a mixture of landscape, exotic views and domestic genre.

The considerable number of art collectors in Victoria was looked upon as evidence of community advancement. The liberality with which private collectors responded to requests, from the exhibition commissioners for pictures to be displayed in The Victorian Loan Gallery, was also commended. The Victorian Loan Gallery was conceived as a major feature of the Exhibition and was reserved for high European art. It was dominated by Frederick Armitage's collection. This was the first occasion that he had exhibited his paintings beyond the National Gallery of Victoria. The contemporary German, English, French and Italian pictures that he displayed made a real impact, with a special section of the gallery given to them. His English landscape *An April Day* (c.1887) by B.W. Leader (1831-1923) R.A. was a favourite with the public and the critics. The executors of the late Henry Miller loaned several fine pictures which had been purchased from the British, German and French
galleries at the Melbourne International Exhibition of 1880. Solicitor William Lynch who owned the largest art collection in Victoria, loaned two Turners and a Constable. This taste for English landscape pre 1860 was the most widespread in Victoria. Although the Victorian Loan Collection was devoted to high European art, John Longstaff’s *Breaking the News* (1887) was included. It was loaned by Messrs Clarke and Co. With this canvas Longstaff had won the inaugural Travelling Scholarship, the student prize of the National Gallery of Victoria. Commentators praised its draughtsmanship and command of detail while the reference to Australia’s mining industry appealed to the rising sense of nationalism. Of the 180 oil paintings contributed to the Victorian Loan Gallery, the majority were 19th century. There were 92 British works, 26 German, 13 French and 8 Italian, the remainder being old masters.

All of the colonies had galleries displaying the work of their own artists, with that of Victoria being the largest. The government had exerted pressure on the two art societies to amalgamate before the Centennial Exhibition. Thus in 1888 the Victorian Academy of Arts and the Australian Artists' Association united to form the Victorian Artists' Society. Victoria's artists knew that they faced their greatest competition, not from each other but from imported works of art and that they had to make a united effort. The Victorian Artists' Gallery was sponsored by the artists themselves and the selection was made by the Victorian Artists' Society which was permitted a free hand. The display included paintings by Louis Buvelot, Frederick McCubbin, Tom Roberts, George and Julian Ashton, Arthur Streeton, Marian Ellis Rowan, J.F. Paterson, John Mather, Charles Rolando, Ugo Catani and Arthur Loureiro. It was felt that the show was Victoria's artists best so far and evinced much hope for the future. In the Australian art category the First Order of Merit went to Marian Ellis Rowan. Her paintings of flora were highly esteemed in the 1880s and her success in the Exhibition led to commissions from many quarters. Second prize went to Tom Roberts for three academic paintings: two portraits and a scene of figures in a bush landscape. Frederick McCubbin and John Mather received third prizes. By the late 1880s the concept of landscape as a form of nationalism had emerged. Artists were painting in the bush to celebrate the specific qualities of the Australian landscape and they painted bush paintings and national themes partly to get a market for their work. Many of the works in The Victorian Artists' Gallery were loaned by their owners. Though Pinschof did not loan any art to the 1888 Exhibition and does not appear to have purchased any either; he must have been impressed by the work of Australian artists and by the holdings of local collectors, for he would soon patronize many of the Australian artists represented, as will be discussed later. In the prosperous boom
years of the 1880s, Melbourne's younger artists already had a small group of influential patrons and admirers, many of whom belonged to Melbourne's newer professional and middle classes. Figures such as physician Dr John Springthorpe and solicitor Theodore Fink, the new generation of university lecturers, represented by Professor Henry Laurie, and businessmen, namely C.S. Paterson and Louis Abrahams, were strong supporters. They all shared a belief in the young country and their patronage of Australian artists was a commitment. They saw themselves in opposition to the conservative older generation: the Melbourne cultural establishment whose ties to the Empire were stronger. It is significant that a majority of collectors who loaned pictures to The Victorian Artists' Gallery gave genre and landscape, in which figures were dominant, whereas the Victorian Loan Gallery, devoted to European works, comprised mainly pure landscape and only a small quantity of genre. This suggests that the collectors of Australian art wished to demonstrate their new, more enlightened attitude.57

These patrons of Victoria's younger artists all shared a belief in Australia but their motivation to buy paintings differed. Theodore Fink was a friend to many artists and presided over the 'Smoke Nights' of the Victorian Artists' Society where his wit was shown to advantage. He also contributed prose and verse to Melbourne newspapers.58 The solicitor was an advisor to some of Melbourne's booming land companies and soon began to speculate heavily himself.59 Thus while he had a feeling for the arts he also had a strong business capacity which may have played a part in his buying of art. Henry Laurie, Professor of Moral Philosophy at Melbourne University, theorised about artistic practice and aesthetic judgement and delivered lectures to local artists.60 Louis Abrahams had set up the Box Hill artists' camp in 1885 with fellow artists Roberts and McCubbin; however, in the late 1880s he gave up art to enter his father's importing business. Artist and critic Alexander Colquhoun recalled "Louis Abrahams was no haphazard collector of pictures. He spent much of his spare time in the practical study of art, and his selections were made with discretion and knowledge."61 The Abrahams family were patrons in the true sense, regularly entertaining the Box Hill artists at their home and buying their paintings.62 Charles Stewart Paterson was a local businessman who built Grosvenor Chambers, the first building in Australia erected specifically for the accommodation of artists, where Roberts and other artists had studios.63 Trained as a decorator in Edinburgh, after arriving in Victoria in 1872, Paterson established a leading position in this branch of art.64 His brother was landscape painter John Ford Paterson. Charles Raymond Staples, Chairman of the Anglo-Australian Investment and Banking Co., was one of the chief landboomers.65 Staples bought paintings by the Heidelberg artists and he also purchased German and Italian pictures from the Koekkoek exhibitions in
Melbourne. Staples made grandiose improvements to his house and was a collector seeking status and quick profit rather than a patron. Dr John Springthorpe was a man of culture. He and his wife Annie were a popular couple in Melbourne social and artistic circles. Like many of these men he would show his support for Australia's younger artists and buy paintings at the 9 By 5 Impression Exhibition in August 1889. This landmark exhibition was an attempt to assert the artists' independence and a deliberate challenge to the critics, in particular James Smith of The Argus, whose criticism of their work had become increasingly hostile. The exhibition was also calculated to widen public awareness of their work, which it certainly did.

In 1903, looking back over the late 19th century, and anticipating that Australia would eventually give rise to a distinctive school of art, James Smith correctly stressed that the economic and political climate is an important factor in the production of artists. The commercial and industrial prosperity of the community leads to elevating the material and intellectual condition of the masses. Also crucial to the development of a national school, is the demand of citizens to make their homes more attractive and aesthetically appealing.

During the Centennial Exhibition, Melbourne delighted in a musical feast never before experienced and not again enjoyed for many years. The commissioners of the exhibition brought out the eminent English composer and conductor Frederick Hymen Cowen as musical director for ten months, at the astronomical personal fee of £5,000, to ensure the triumphant success of the celebrations, to boost Empire morale and instruct the public and elevate the human spirit. The festival consisted of 244 concerts of 265 major works including large choral works, symphonies, overtures and excerpts from opera. George L. Allan of the music warehousing firm and pioneer teacher was commissioned by the Victorian Government to supervise the engagement in England of 15 key orchestral players. He had selected and rehearsed an orchestra with George Weston as leader: its 60 members were chosen from groups all over Australia. With the English musicians added, the orchestra was a full symphonic body which played daily at the concerts. For the opening of the exhibition a choir of 700 voices, drawn from the Liedertafels and the Philharmonic Society thrilled the distinguished and crowded audience, performing for the prestige and the honour. The Centennial cantata was the only major Australian composition performed at the exhibition. Australians were highly satisfied to find that the most popular music, according to a plebiscite vote, duplicated English taste. Significantly this music was German: Beethoven's Pastorale Symphony, Wagner's Tannhäuser and Rienzi overtures and Händel's Largo. The concert hall was filled to capacity every day.
and these concerts had enormous educational value, broadening people's appreciation of the foreign schools and converting many into Wagnerites.79

The displays in the exhibition included sections for musical instrument sales with demonstrations and concerts. Pfaff, Pinschof & Co. was one of the Australian representatives for the German and Austrian piano manufacturers80 The Piano Hall of the German Court was a focal point of the Centennial Exhibition containing over 200 pianos.81 The concert room was capable of seating 1,000 listeners and the music was played against a Rhine landscape background while at the end of the hall enormous busts of the last three German emperors topped pedestals (plate 28). Australians bought countless German iron-frame pianos which were capable of resisting the Australian summer's attacks on the structure and tuning.82 The piano, the centre of family entertainment in the homes of most Australians, made possible the extension of musical culture beyond a narrow élite. In the press the French complained about the preference given to German pianos and to German and English brass instruments. The French were also upset over the flooding of the market with important didactic works from the German publishing houses: books on musicology, scores of operas, notably Wagner, and complete collections of Bach, Mozart and Beethoven.83

At the time of the Exhibition it was emphasized that Melbourne had made significant strides towards the provision of sound musical training.84 Francis Ormond, the wealthy pastoralist and public benefactor, had offered The University of Melbourne £20,000 on the condition that the public exhibit an interest and contribute a like amount. The money was eventually raised and the Ormond Chair of Music established; the first Chair of Music in Australia.85 Melbourne was awaiting the decision on who would be the first Ormond Professor.86

Due to the public demand, influential men, representing the worlds of business and the arts, headed by Frederick Sargood, Executive vice-President of the Exhibition Commission and George L. Allan, persuaded the Victorian Government to provide an unprecedented £3000 per annum for two years, in order to set up the Exhibition orchestra on a permanent basis. This was combined with donations and guarantees from eminent citizens, including Sir William Clarke; and a ticket subscription list.87 In July 1889 the Victorian National Orchestra was established. Frederick Cowen's choice to replace him as conductor was Hamilton Clarke a supercilious Englishman.88 When he set up his own choir, local choral societies boycotted the Victorian Orchestra concerts and the Australian instrumentalists in turn refused to co-operate. These events and the thinning audiences caused by the economic depression, led
Hamilton Clarke to abandon the orchestra which finally collapsed in July 1891. Fortunately it would soon be revived with the financial support of George L. Allan and Carl Pinschof.


ibid. p. 192.


Middelmann, 1972, p. 9.


The Argus, 2 August 1888, Centennial Exhibition Supplement, p. 6 and Official Record, p. 234 ff.

Lane, 1980, pp. 37 and 39.


Official Record, p. 231

The Age, 1 August 1888, p.4.


The Argus, 2 August 1888, p. 9 and Official Record, pp. 217-219. The entire British collection was valued at £210,170 and the value sold to the colonial art galleries and to the public was £7,830, Official Record, p. 225.

Official Record, p. 219.


The Age, 1 August 1888, p. 13.
18 Galbally, *The Collections of the National Gallery of Victoria*, p. 28, pl. 1.27. *The Illustrated Australian News*, September 1888, p. 170. *St George and the Dragon* was installed at the front of the Public Library where it remains today.


22 *Official Record*, p. 223.


24 Lake, 1888, p. 72


26 ibid.


28 Stock Book 1888. *Dutch Pastures, Morning* by Baisch is still in the collection of the National Gallery of Victoria. It is on long-term loan to one of the ministerial offices. The author acknowledges the assistance of Ann Rowland, Assistant Registrar, National Gallery of Victoria.

29 Mr Cullis Hill of 'Tudor Lodge', Hawthorn, Lane and Serle, 1990, p. 239, pl. 256.

30 Lake, 1888, p. 72.

31 "Almost all the men raise their hats, and I have seen Englishmen [Australians] remove their headgear and stand gazing at the picture for some length of time", *Vossische Zeitung*, 29 September 1888, quoted by Voigt, 1987, p. 91.

32 *The Age*, 1 August 1888, p. 13.

33 *Popular Guide* 1888, p. 63. With the outbreak of the First World War the German clubs in Melbourne closed down. The *Deutsche Verein* (German Club) building in Alfred Place was taken over by the Army and Navy Club, Lodewyckx, 1934, p. 36.

34 *The Age*, 1 August 1888, p. 13.


37 Jeanette Hoorn, "Warrawong Art Gallery" in Bendigo, Bendigo Art Gallery, *Victorian Victoria*, Doug Hall, 1985,

39 For example architec. Wilhelm Vahland born in 1828 in Hanover, arrived in 1854 and was responsible for most of Bendigo's public buildings. He was a member of the City Council and Treasurer of the School of Mines. Leavitt, (ed.), 1888, vol.II, Part IV p. 31. There were also many Germans prominent in Music in Bendigo, Tampke and Doxford, 1990, p. 135.


42 The Argus, 2 August 1888, p. 9.


44 The Age, 1 August 1888, p. 13. The number of German pictures was the equivalent of the combined French and Italian. The German paintings included landscapes by Carl Heffner and genre paintings by G.Bochmann and E. Gritzner. The French and Italian pictures shown were a street scene in Cairo by Gérôme, one by his pupil Charles Bargue d.1883 (tiny cabinet pictures) and On the Road to Naples by Guiseppe de Nittis, also a student of Gérôme. Armytage's collection is unusual for its contemporary French and Italian works.

45 The Argus, 2 August 1888, p. 9 and The Age, 1 August 1888, p. 13. An April Day by B.W. Leader hung on the Royal Academy walls in 1887. London dealer Mr Tooth sold it, Official Guide, p. 100. All of the British pictures that Armytage loaned were landscapes: the church yard by B.W. Leader, a scene of highland flood and mist by Peter Graham and a cattle piece by H.W. Davis.

46 The Argus, 2 August 1888 p. 9, Marcus Stone An Appeal for Mercy 1793, Alexander Johnstone The Child Queen and an episode in the life of Isaac Watts, Robert Hillingford Three Generations, a landscape by one of the Linnells, All Among the Barley by E.H. Fahey, Louis Douzette's Venice by Moonlight and a snow scene by Defaux.

47 The Argus, 2 August 1888 p. 9 and Vaughan, 1976, Chapter III, Part B.


49 Lake, p. 89 ff.


51 The Argus, 1 August 1888, p. 9.

52 The Age, 1 August 1888, p. 13.

53 Official Record, pp. 1046-1047. Ellis Rowan had also won the supreme award for Australian art at the 1880 International Exhibition.
For instance, The Victoria Racing Club and The Australia Club commissioned murals from Ellis Rowan. She also painted murals for Sir William Clarke and Lady Janet Clarke at 'Cliveden' their East Melbourne mansion. Janet Clarke was Ellis Rowan's cousin, Margaret Hazzard, *Australia's Brilliant Daughter: Ellis Rowan*, Greenhouse, Melbourne, 1984, pp. 52 and 53.

Official Record, pp. 1046-1047. Tom Roberts *Blue Eyes and Brown* (1887), C.S. Paterson (c. 1887) and *Reconciliation* (c.1887). The Committee of the Victorian Artists' Society found the judges' decision to award Roberts only second prize offensive and a protest letter was published in *The Argus*, January 1889, cited by Hazzard, 1984, pp. 47-50.

Lake, 1888, p. 119 ff. To mention the most important, Professor Laurie loaned McCubbin's *The Lost Child* (1886) and two portraits by Roberts: *Blue Eyes and Brown* (1887) and a portrait of himself Professor Laurie (1887). Charles Stewart Paterson sent in Roberts' *Reconciliation* (1887) and a portrait of himself by Roberts as well as *A Pastoral* by Streeton. Theodore Fink contributed *Moye's Bay, Beaumaris* (1887) by McCubbin and Charles Raymond Staples lent Streeton's *Setler's Camp* (1888) and McCubbin's *The Midday Rest* (1888).

Vaughan suggested that the collectors of Australian art were interested in stating their new attitude in the Victorian Artists' Gallery, 1976, vol. II, Appendix E, p. 69.


A. Colquhoun, "Abrahams Art Collection Pictures Exhibited", *The Age*, newspaper cutting, c 15 August 1919 (date of auction in Melbourne), Tom Roberts' scrapbook, p. 200, Mitchell Library, Sydney, MSS4586/IX.


Cannon, 1967, pp. 95-100.

Koekkock sales lists mentioned by Vaughan, 1976, vol. II, Appendix E, p. 68. Staples also bought at the auction of works by Carl Kahler, *Table Talk*, 28 February, 1890, p. 5.


69 Springthorpe, Fink and Laurie are all known to have bought paintings at the 9 By 5 Exhibition, *Table Talk*, 23 August 1889 p. 4 and 30 August 1889 p.6. This popular weekly newspaper aroused much interest in the Exhibition.


72 *The Age*, 1 August 1888, p. 13. The series of concerts in concentration has probably never been paralleled in the history of western music, Kenneth Hince, "George Leavis Allan (1826-1897)" entry in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 3, 1969, pp. 21-22; p. 22.


74 *Official Record*, p. 263.


76 *Official Record*, p. 261.

77 *ibid.*, pp. 194, 203-209.

78 *ibid.*, pp. 263-264.


The Ormond Professor was chosen by a selection committee appointed in London, Radic, 1978, pp. 198-211.

Details on Clarke's difficulties gleaned from Radic, 1978, pp. 70, 104 and 176 and *Table Talk*, 22 and 24 July 1891, cited by Radic, p. 125. Hamilton Clarke in 1866 had been appointed organist at Queen's College, Oxford and in 1872 at St. Peter's South Kensington. In the late seventies he had been conductor with the D'Oyly Carte Company on tour and also had an appointment at the Lyceum writing incidental music for Henry Irving. E.D. Mackarness, "Hamilton Clarke (1840-1912)" , in Sadie (ed.), vol.4, 1980, p. 444.
CHAPTER VI

The Pinschofs: Patrons of Music

Pinschof cared enormously for his adopted country and helped to get it on a firm financial footing. In 1888, in a speech before the First Congress of the Australasian Chamber of Commerce, Pinschof had stressed the need for qualified people to run the finances of the country and argued for establishing tertiary training in commerce and the public service.1 After the withdrawal of British investment in 1891, following the speculative boom of the 1880s, land companies and building societies were unable to meet the demands of their depositors seeking repayment of their investment. This led to a run on the banks, triggering one bank crash after another, resulting in economic crisis. Known for his financial expertise Pinschof was asked to advise on Australia's economic problems. In October 1892 Pinschof delivered a speech before the Bankers' Institute of Australasia in Melbourne. He advocated a federal Australian Central Banking Institution and the Credit Foncier de France system for long-term agricultural loans.2 As a result, in Victoria in 1896, a special agency was established within the government savings bank to assist farmers and pastoralists with long-term, fixed interest loans. In 1893 Pinschof had acquired shares in the Victorian Newspaper Co. Ltd.3 Free from direct involvement in the excesses of the land boom, Pinschof assisted in the reorganization of several Melbourne newspapers, leading to the establishment of The Herald & Standard Newspaper Co. He successfully acquired a directorship in the process.4 In 1902 this company would become The Herald & Weekly Times, Australia's foremost news and communication group. Pinschof had established himself as a leading figure in Melbourne's business world and felt that he was in a position to do more for the arts in Melbourne.

Pinschof was at the centre of the circle of citizens responsible for bringing G.W.L. Marshall-Hall, the English composer, conductor and teacher, to Melbourne in 1891 to be the first Ormond Professor of Music.5 Marshall-Hall quickly became a leading and controversial figure in the cultural life of the period. In Melbourne, Arthur Streeton painted his fine portrait of his friend Professor Marshall-Hall (1892) (plate 29). At the time Streeton wrote to Tom Roberts "he [Marshall-Hall] thinks I've caught somewhat of his expression - a sardonic sort of smile."6 Streeton has also captured the strength of the big 30-year-old professor. Marshall-Hall cherished this portrait for life.7 Streeton confided to Roberts that Marshall-Hall and McCubbin
were the only two people in Melbourne's art establishment whom he considered to be deep thinkers.8

In December 1892 Marshall-Hall, with the financial support of George Allan of Allan's music warehouse, assembled an orchestra from the collapsed Victorian Orchestra (set up after the Centennial Exhibition) for a Marshall-Hall concert at the Melbourne Town Hall.9 The programme included Beethoven's Symphony No. 5 and Madame Wiedermann sang Schubert's Young Nun and the Wolf's Glen scene from Weber's Der Freischütz.10 This highly successful concert led to the creation of an organization headed by Dr James Barrett, a Germanophile, the Pinschos and Dr Felix Meyer which resulted in the establishment of the Marshall-Hall Orchestra.11 Madame Wiedermann starred at Marshall-Hall concerts at the Melbourne Town Hall singing Schubert, Wagner, Beethoven and Mozart.12 Initially Marshall-Hall managed the orchestra expenses himself, drawing on the annual subscription from the concerts.13 However he had no business skills and ultimately refused to be involved with the management of the orchestra.14 A small guarantee fund was set up with left-over funds and contributed to by generous supporters, and a committee of high-standing citizens, including Pinschof, handled the finances.15 Phil Fox, a prominent lawyer and elder brother of Emanuel Phillips Fox, acted as honorary secretary.16

The Marshall-Hall Orchestra was made up from musicians who played in the theatres. Marshall-Hall and Wiedermann constantly stressed the need for a permanent salaried orchestra in Melbourne.17 However from 1908 the demands of the Musicians' Union undermined the financial structure of the Marshall-Hall Orchestra and its members disbanded in 1912.18

The Marshall-Hall concerts fostered an appreciation of symphonic music (particularly German) in the Melbourne public and they were especially inspiring for Melbourne's artists. Streeton recalled an incident with Marshall-Hall: "Once at a rehearsal of a movement in a Schubert Symphony he turned round and shouted, Struton, I put up my hand and he, referring to the particular passage he was conducting, shouted down the hall 'Isn't that like thick paint,' and I think his comparison was correct in a way."19 Streeton's recollection reflects their interest in Wagner's idea of the Gesamtkunstwerk, the total work of art in which music, painting and poetry merge into a sacred union. McCubbin wrote to Roberts informing that he and Smike [Streeton], the Don [Louis Abrahams] and Miss Jane Sutherland had attended the recent Marshall-Hall rehearsal: "He gave us the 'Pastoral', first movement...We were very happy indeed; the melody was like a crisp morning, very restful and tender."20 Tom Roberts and his wife Lillie attended Marshall-Hall concerts too.21 Roberts also
enjoyed playing the harmonium for his friends at their gatherings and delighted in hearing McCubbin sing Schubert's *Who is Sylvia?*\(^{22}\)

Marshall-Hall and Melbourne music teacher William Adolphus Laver had both studied in Germany and correctly felt that a practical school, associated with the Chair of Music, was essential for musical development in Melbourne.\(^{23}\) The Conservatorium which they established was unique, being the first conservatorium in the British Empire within a university.\(^{24}\) The curriculum was also based on German models.\(^{25}\) As the university did not wish to provide funds (the university did not recognize music as an academic discipline) Marshall-Hall managed to convince the university council that it would be financially self-supporting.\(^{26}\) Pinschof became a trustee and honorary treasurer of the Conservatorium.\(^{27}\) For Madame Wiedermann, Marshall-Hall had a profound admiration and personal regard, as is attested to by portions of a lecture which he delivered in May 1894: "The more I hear of this lady, in both private and public, the more I am impressed with her splendid dramatic gift...Never have I heard that divine passage in the love scene from Tristan...sung with more understanding, more poetic insight, more inspiration."\(^{28}\) Marshall-Hall constantly slammed Melbourne's music critics. He referred to the banality of their reviews of her performances: "the incompetent critical canaille with their...'Madame Wiedermann sang the part of so and so with her usual success.' Pah!"\(^{29}\)

Marshall-Hall prevailed upon Wiedermann to use her talent and expertise to teach singing at the planned conservatorium.\(^{30}\) The Conservatorium opened in February 1895 in the newly-built Queen's Coffee Palace opposite the Carlton Gardens, a building which had been left tenantless after the financial crash (plate 30).\(^{31}\) In July 1895 Streeton wrote to a friend "I spend a lot of time there [at the Conservatorium]...At a concert lately he [Marshall-Hall] gave the Eroica Symphony - it was splendid for me - we have had Chamber music too - with songs by Madame Wiedermann."\(^{32}\) Streeton's love of music made him welcome in the Pinschos' circle.

With the opening of the Conservatorium the bond between artists and musicians grew stronger. Melbourne's bohemian clubs and that monthly institution the Smoke Night of the Victorian Artists' Society fostered this interplay between artists and musicians.\(^{33}\) In his letters Streeton recalled the happy bohemian times that he had spent in Melbourne cafes and in the bush with artist and musician Ernest Moffitt, the German violinist Franz Dierich, and teacher and journalist Frederick Delmer.\(^{34}\) Music was an integral part of their lives. Letters written by Streeton and Marshall-Hall to their friends are sprinkled with bars of music and German phrases.\(^{35}\)
One of the first students to enrol in the Department of Music had been Ernest Moffitt.\textsuperscript{36} He played in the Marshall-Hall Orchestra concerts which he also helped to manage as well as being the secretary to the Conservatorium.\textsuperscript{37} His sound common sense kept Marshall-Hall balanced in his conflict with some of the University professors of that era.\textsuperscript{38} Moffitt also made posters advertising performances of the Marshall-Hall Orchestra.\textsuperscript{39} He had attended drawing classes at the National Gallery School since 1890 and regularly exhibited his pen drawings with the Victorian Artists' Society.\textsuperscript{40} Moffitt drew landscapes direct from nature and scenes from literature. His early landscape drawings reveal the influence of Whistler; and his more decorative work shows his response to the Pre-Raphaelite and Aesthetic movements. As a pen-draughtsman, Moffitt ranked with the best of his time in Australia but there was little market for decorated books.\textsuperscript{41} Moffitt had a matured taste in art and literature and worked closely with Marshall-Hall, Pinschof and Madame Wiedermann at the Conservatorium. Through this friendship, Pinschof acquired a sketch by him (unsighted). Marshall-Hall encouraged Moffitt in his early artistic efforts and after his premature death the Professor financed the book \textit{A Consideration of the Art of Ernest Moffitt}.\textsuperscript{42} Written by Lionel Lindsay and published in 1899 it was the first monograph devoted to an Australian artist.\textsuperscript{43} The public however did not appreciate it.\textsuperscript{44}

Wiedermann taught the girls at the Conservatorium what she had learned from Marchesi and from her experiences on the operatic stages of Europe. In 1904 Wiedermann, looking back on the development of concert singing in Melbourne, admitted "There has been much improvement...There are most lovely voices here...But...There is need...to compel those who will teach, first to learn."\textsuperscript{45} Wiedermann trained a great number of singers who afterwards made niches for themselves in Australia and throughout the world.\textsuperscript{46} From 1898 to 1920 Wiedermann also produced annual student performances of scenes from opera, introducing to Melbourne audiences some of the leading operas of contemporary European music, at the Alexander, Princess and Her Majesty's Theatres. These were reported in the press as being of a consistently high standard.\textsuperscript{47} In Wiedermann's obituary in \textit{The Australian Musical News} in 1922, the author eulogized "...these two big personalities [Elise Wiedermann and Marshall-Hall] did more probably than any other two individuals to mould the present generation of musical thought in Melbourne."\textsuperscript{48} Sadly today Wiedermann is given little recognition.

The depression of the 90s left the management of the Coffee Palace bankrupt\textsuperscript{49} and in 1898, with Carl Pinschof's full support, Marshall-Hall rehoused the Conservatorium in rented rooms in the Victorian Artists' Society Building in Albert Street; and Pinschof
continued to be treasurer. The interchange between Melbourne's artists and musicians developed further. Before World War I the Victorian Artists' Society was the center of Australian art, its exhibitions important events in the life of the Melbourne intelligentsia. It was also the national centre of musical development (plate 31).

Marshall-Hall faced life with exuberance and energy, having embraced Nietzsche's philosophy. Nietzsche argues that the "will to power" is the crucial human characteristic. Like Nietzsche, Marshall-Hall rejected Christianity and its morality. His bohemianism was of the progressive, arrogant type; he publicly declared his political and atheist views and his belief in the power of the emotions, which shocked Melbourne society. With the public outrage following Marshall-Hall's book of poems *Hymns Ancient and Modern* in 1898, the University Council resolved, that when his tenure terminated in 1900, he would not be reappointed. In 1900, when the councillors reconsidered his appointment, Elise Wiedermann accompanied a deputation to the University Council and believing in the Romantic idea of the artist, made a gallant defence of Professor Marshall-Hall which was published in full in the press. Wiedermann argued that impulsive behaviour is part of artistic temperament and that Marshall-Hall was a musician of world standard, an organizer, director and conductor, and irreplaceable. She also pointed out that much of his work was gratuitous. Marshall-Hall was creating a national music with his own compositions and by teaching Melbourne's youth, and in this the Pinschofs supported him. He also broadened musical taste in Melbourne. Though Marshall-Hall's reputation as a university professor, a writer and composer was questioned many times, his ability as a conductor was never doubted. As a personality he was an inspiration. Melbourne's business, academic, and artistic community and some clergymen also supported Marshall-Hall; however, puritan hostility erupted again and he was dismissed. In 1901 the university set up a Conservatorium on the University grounds and appointed Franklin Peterson to the Chair. Marshall-Hall and Wiedermann remained at the Albert Street Conservatorium and the two conservatoria carried on separately.

In February 1913 Marshall-Hall wrote to his friend and patron Dr Barrett (who had been in charge of the management of the Marshall-Hall Orchestra concerts) that he was going 'home' to try his luck as a composer in London. Though his operas had been well received in Melbourne, the Marshall-Hall Orchestra had failed and he was thoroughly disillusioned with Australia and did not intend to return. He also felt that he was "too much under the control of others" and that the Conservatorium Committee owed him part of his salary and he vented his frustrations on Pinschof, the
honorary treasurer (though he had already been told by the committee that they now looked on the disputed money as a debt owing to him). *En route* to London Marshall-Hall elaborated to Barrett: "The Con. was fast becoming a school, not of music, but of Pinschoffian intrigue I could not have gone on in that atmosphere - there would have been a Bust upset!" Marshall-Hall refused to accept any more favours from the Pinschosfs and his other supporters; and also felt that he had done much more for them than they had for him. Such a quarrel was inevitable as Marshall-Hall had refused to be involved with the financial affairs. The artiste is generally perceived as having no head for business. Artists need help with their finances to allow themselves to devote sufficient time to their art. After many attempts to raise funds and to find a company, finally, with the financial backing of Herbert Brookes, a wealthy Melbourne businessman, Marshall-Hall's opera *Stella* (1910) had performances at the Palladium in London. Sadly the third-rate production and the business worries entailed left Marshall-Hall deeply depressed.

When Franklin Peterson, second Ormond Professor, died in June 1914 the Pinschosfs and Melbourne's musical public campaigned to have Marshall-Hall reinstated. After much debate, University reformers including Dr Barrett, Theodore Fink and John Monash secured Marshall-Hall's reappointment and Marshall-Hall gladly accepted the Chair of Music when it was offered to him. Out of loyalty Madame Pinschof and a few other members of staff resigned from the Albert Street Conservatorium to join him at the University. Shortly after their return, Marshall-Hall expressed his gratitude to Wiedermann by giving her Streeton's watercolour *St Paul's across the Thames* (c.1905) (plate 32) and *Autumn Landscape* by Blamire Young (unsighted). Marshall-Hall's unexpected death in July 1915, just six months later, came as a tragic shock. Wiedermann wrote to Lady Hennessy, Mayoress of Melbourne, to ask for a public meeting to consider an appropriate memorial to the late professor and Melbourne's artistic and academic community worked for this.

The Pinschosfs' passion for Wagner and their desire to foster the taste for his music led Pinschof to underwrite the visit of a German opera company, the first to come to Australia. In 1905 Pinschof and some wealthy fellow-Wagner enthusiasts approached theatrical entrepreneur, George Musgrove, with the specific commission to bring out a German opera company to perform Wagner, the agreement included the Australian premiere of *Die Walküre*. The Royal Grand Opera Company opened in March 1907 at the Princess Theatre. Pinschof's sponsoring of the Berlin company gave Australian audiences the opportunity to experience the convention-breaking ideas of Wagner's music drama. Local musicians formed the orchestra which was supplemented by overseas players, as there simply were not enough musicians in
Melbourne to present grand opera adequately. Some local singers were recruited, mainly for minor roles and the chorus was made up of Australian singers. The company made a profit of £8000 on its performances in Melbourne which melted away during the season in Sydney. The Pinschofs might well have to be given the credit for the more appreciative audiences in Melbourne.
VI The Pinschofs: Patrons of Music


4. *ibid.*


7. Mrs Kate Marshall-Hall, his widow owned the portrait until at least 1935, Clark and Whitelaw, 1986, p. 182.


11. Crow, 1945, p. 5. Dr James Barrett ophthalmologist, lecturer Melbourne University from 1897, elected to university council 1901, Barrett developed a love of German culture on a visit to Germany and Austria in the late 1880s, he was also an able pianist, S. Murray-Smith, "Sir James William Barrett (1862-1943)" entry in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 7, 1979, pp. 186-189. Dr Felix Meyer gynaecologist and obstetrician, art patron and member of literary clubs. Meyer came from a musical family and in 1904 he married artist Mary Nanson who had studied under E. Phillips Fox, "Dr. Felix Meyer" in *Con Amore: The Melba Conservatorium Magazine*, No. 4, 1937, p. 19 and Frank M.C. Forster, "Felix Meyer (1858-1937)" entry in *A.D.B.* vol.10, 1986, pp. 491-492.


In 1902 the Marshall-Hall Orchestra management set up a small guarantee fund with money left over from subscriptions for the year, Janet Lady Clarke gave her support. Visiting English writer A.E.J. Lee gave a gift of £1,000 in 1908 to help the Marshall-Hall Orchestra. It was hoped that this would encourage the Government and the City Council to subsidise the Orchestra. In 1909 Melba donated £100 per year guaranteed for five years, unsigned statement, Hince Collection, National Library of Australia and The Age, 4 May 1908, cited by Radic, pp. 401 and 428-436 also Brooke, 1915 and Barrett 1935.

Len Fox, E. Phillips Fox and His Family, Len Fox, Sydney, 1985, pp. 16 and 85 and Barrett, 1945, p.36.


Streeton to Henry Verbruggen, 28 June 1920, University of Melbourne Archives. Verbruggen was Director of the New South Wales State Conservatorium (established 1914).

McCubbin to Roberts 18 July 1892 in Croll, 1935, pp. 54-55.

Miss Fraser Diary c 1901 in Croll, 1935, p. 74.

Walter Pring recollections in Croll, 1935, pp. 146-147.

William Adolphus Laver born in Victoria in 1866, had studied at the Frankfurt Conservatoire 1882-1889, he had placed his plan for a conservatoire in Melbourne before the University and the press in 1889, Radic, 1982, p. 45. Marshall-Hall had studied music privately in Berlin under August Haupt of the Royal Institute of Church Music and singing with Kotzoll of the Royal Opera and also briefly at the Royal College of Music, London, Table Talk, 16 January 1891, cited by Radic, 1986, p.423. In 1894 Marshall-Hall left Melbourne and went to Europe to study Continental models for the courses to be offered.


In the preface of the Prospectus of 1896 for the University Conservatorium of Music Marshall-Hall praises the conservatorium, so prominent in Germany, and Wieck the originator of the Schumann School, one of the leading pianoforte schools in Germany. At the University of Melbourne, Marshall-Hall's Theory class would deal with the modern views of art and the ideas of Wagner were mainly to be discussed. The required reading for the course included Schopenhauer, quoted by Radic, 1978, p. 247.


29 ibid. p. 103.

30 In December 1894 a request was sent to the University Council by Marshall-Hall to appoint Madame Wiedermann and a number of musicians most of whom were German, *A History of the Conservatorium*, typed manuscript n.d., Grainger Museum. Singing Staff: Madame Wiedermann Chief and Miss Goode, *Prospectus of 1896 for the University Conservatorium of Music*.


32 Streeton to Walter Pring July 1895, Galbally and Gray (eds), 1989, p. 63. Marshall-Hall and the cellist Hattenbach tried to foster an appreciation for chamber music in Melbourne but despite much artistic playing it did not develop.


34 Streeton to Delmer c October, 1897 in Galbally and Gray (eds).1989, p. 74.

35 For example envelope addressed by Streeton to Roberts October 1892 and letter from Streeton to Roberts November 1892 illustrated in Galbally and Gray (eds),1989, pp. 54 and 57.


37 ibid.


39 Lionel Lindsay, 1899, p. 40.


41 Lionel Lindsay, 1967, p. 113.

42 ibid. p. 114.

43 ibid.

44 ibid.


47 "Madame Wiedermann; Noted singer's death", ibid. and *Table Talk*, every December from 1898.


50 Contract between Marshall-Hall and the Victorian Artists' Society 7 July 1897, La Trobe Library Manuscripts Department.

Marshall-Hall's reading of Nietzsche is felt behind his published lectures and criticism. When *Alcestis* was staged, as part of the Melbourne Liedertafel concert series, 1 August 1898, the day that news of Bismark's death reached Melbourne, Marshall-Hall made a speech and praised the Iron Chancellor's virile, ruthless character, spoke pro war and declared attendance at a popular concert to be as depressing to a man of vigorous mind and body as a visit to a church. Joe Rich "A Thoroughly Shameful Affair: The Removal of G.W.L. Marshall-Hall from the Ormond Chair of Music", *Victorian Historical Journal*, vol. 61, No.1, March 1990, pp. 3-16; p. 5.


*The Herald*, 20 June 1900, p. 3.


Streeton to Pring 18 July 1895 "He [Marshall-Hall] delivered an interesting lecture...no man in Australia before has stood before an audience, &...had the fine pluck to denounce them to their faces as philistines...no one has like him been such a champion for the Artist and his work - He shouts out to people the very things that we the artists have keenly felt for years" in Galbally and Gray (eds.), 1989, p. 63, Crow (former pupil), 1945, pp. 5 and 6 and all of Marshall-Hall's supporters in the public debate.


Radic, 1982, pp. 31-32. Herbert Brookes was married to Ivy Deakin a former pupil of the Conservatorium. She played in the Marshall-Hall Orchestra from 1903. She was the daughter of Alfred Deakin. Alison Patrick "Herbert Brookes (1867-1963)", entry in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 7, 1979, pp. 425-427. *Stella* had been cut and appeared as an item in a variety performance. Barrett, A.E.J. Lee and other Marshall-Hall supporters had sent scores to every notable who would receive them in England, Germany and U.S.A. *Stella* is the story of a fallen woman. It has an Australian setting.

*The Argus*, 17 July 1914.

Geoffrey Serle, *John Monash: A Biography*, University of Melbourne Press, Melbourne, 1982, p. 187. In a letter to Bennett 3 July 1914 Marshall-Hall wrote that he would be happy to be re-


64 Pinschof inventory 1914 and Middelmann, 1972, p. 22.

65 *ibid.* and list of names of General Committee Marshall-Hall Memorial Fund, Grainger Museum, M-H 9/1-.12, Carl and Elise Pinschof are included. A bronze bust of Marshall-Hall was sculpted by Wallace Anderson. It is now in the Grainger Museum.


69 *The Age*, 1 April 1907, p. 5.

70 *ibid.* and Gyger, 1990, pp. 123-124.

CHAPTER VII

The Pinschofs: Patrons of Art

The first work by an Australian artist, bought by Pinschof was Streeton's *The Long Wave, Coogee* (1895) (plate 33) which he purchased in 1895 for £10-10-0 in Sydney, when as Pinschof points out in his inventory, written in 1914, "Streeton was hardly known outside a small circle."1 Streeton already had a small group of supporters in Melbourne and, in Sydney, art patron Leonard Dodds, prominent in mining, and William Macleod at *The Bulletin* were among the few who would pay as much as £20 for a painting by a contemporary Australian artist.2 The Art Gallery of New South Wales had bought a few of Streeton's large paintings for substantial sums.3 Streeton's *Golden Summer; Eaglemont* (1889) had been exhibited at the Royal Academy in London in 1891 and in 1892 at the Paris Salon where it had received an honourable mention and was purchased.4 Therefore while Streeton was supported by a minority, he had achieved some success and had a reputation.

Coogee, where Roberts and Conder had painted in 1888, was a favourite spot for Streeton to paint *en plein air*. After experiencing Coogee for the first time, Streeton wrote to his Melbourne friend and patron Theodore Fink in 1890: "...Coogee - where the great green rollers tumble in like huge heavy cylinders of liquid glass, spreading glory everywhere, & playing a great symphony of thunder on the golden shore...."5 Streeton's description expresses his delight in the beauty of Coogee and also reveals his love of music.

In *The Long Wave, Coogee* the unusual composition, portraying the sea frontally from the shoreline, precisely captures these surfwaves. At Coogee, Streeton produced some of his most unique, radical and beautiful work - Pinschof had the ability to recognize talent and take a risk on new art. The painting belongs to a series of very daring panel paintings with similar proportions to Japanese art. The elongated shape lent itself to Streeton's interpretation of the lines of the coast around Sydney and continued to be a favourite shape for this motif. The format derives from the fashion for elongated panel paintings that had originated in England and Europe with the cult of Aestheticism and *japonaiserie*. Streeton painted on panels which were originally intended for the storing of dresses.6 In a time of economic depression, these inexpensive dress boards were also appealing to the impoverished artist. Streeton's beach scene is filled with light and gaiety and is vigorously painted; a celebration of Sydney's natural beauty. Pinschof's love of the Australian landscape would have
motivated him to buy this painting. The Pinschofs also cherished Streeton's watercolour *Coogee* (1896) (plate 34) which was a gift from Miss Nancy Elmhurst Goode to Madame Pinschof. Miss Goode had trained with Roberts and Streeton at the Gallery School before studying singing at the University in 1892. She sang with the Marshall-Hall Orchestra and was governess to the Pinschof daughters. Goode became Madame's assistant at the Conservatorium.

Streeton divided his time between Melbourne and Sydney during the 1890s. In Sydney he and Roberts lived at Curlew Camp, Little Sirius Cove, Mosman. The camp had been founded by retailer Reuben Brasch and residents included sportsmen, writers and men who worked in the city. Curlew offered not only a cheaper lifestyle during a time of depression, the artists it attracted also felt that the bush was the real Australia; and therefore took to Curlew, which was situated in the bush foreshore. Such camps were an extension of the *plein air* artists' camps of Europe and Britain and an alternative to bourgeois life in the city. Roberts was busy with portrait commissions at their studio in the city and did not paint the area as much as Streeton. They also painted in rural New South Wales and the Hawkesbury River area. Their move from Melbourne had been caused by lack of patronage, Melbourne was hit by the Depression before Sydney and the number of private patrons had diminished. Pinschof whose prudence in business was well known, did not suffer from the crash and was still able to support the arts. Another reason for Streeton's leaving Melbourne for Sydney was the interest expressed by the trustees of the Art Gallery of New South Wales in *Still Glides the Stream* (1890) which Julian Ashton had seen at the Victorian Artists' Society exhibition while visiting Melbourne. The Art Gallery of New South Wales had more money allocated to spend on Australian art than had the National Gallery in Victoria.

In 1896 Streeton made a determined effort to sell his work in order to finance his trip to England. In December 1896 Pinschof purchased two further views of Sydney, *Sirius Cove* (1896) for £10-10-0 and the large *Cremorne, Sydney Harbour* (1896) for £26-5-0 at *Streeton's Sydney Sunshine Exhibition*, in Walter Barnett's photographic studio Elizabeth Street Melbourne, which was Streeton's first solo show. *Sirius Cove* is full of light and rich golds and deep blues and has rapid, smudgy brushwork (plate 35). Pinschof noted that *Sirius Cove* depicted the landing place for the artists' camp where Streeton lived in tents. This painting is one of a few depicting the landing near the camp with visitors arriving in a skiff, while a ferry is visible in the distance. The fact that Marshall-Hall had stayed at Curlew Camp in 1893 and 1896 would have added to the painting's appeal for Pinschof. Marshall-Hall was greatly affected by his stay at Curlew Camp and this experience provided
some material for his book of poems *Hymn to Sydney* published in 1897, illustrated by Ernest Moffitt and dedicated to Streeaton. In the dedication Marshall-Hall pays tribute to Streeoton for tutoring his "unused eyes" in the beauty of the landscape; and the title poem expresses his delight "City of laughing loveliness! Sun-girdled Queen!..." In *Cremorne, Sydney Harbour* (1896) (plate 36) the panoramic composition is very much like Streeoton's Hawkesbury river paintings. The eye is led across the glistening water to some visual interest in the middle ground and then on to the horizon. Sydney Harbour was a subject that Streeoton loved and to which he returned at different periods of his life.

Pinschof also acquired paintings of Sydney's harbourside by Roberts. The small oil panel *Rose Bay* (c. 1894) (unsighted) was a present from the artist and a sketch for a picture in the Art Gallery of South Australia. The oil *Balmain* (unsighted) was probably painted after 1896 when Roberts left Curlew Camp, married and moved to Balmain.

Pinschof also owned *Chinaman's Huts* (unsighted) by Alexander McClintock depicting the huts at Chinaman's Beach, Mosman. McClintock was a respected landscapist who painted mostly in watercolours and exhibited at the Victorian Artists Society from 1895. He had studied under Melbourne *plein airist* John Mather. Pinschof was enthusiastic about *plein air* painting in Australia and also owned *Evening on the Darling* by McClintock and scenes by Mather depicting Crow Island and the Maribyrnong River (all unsighted). Ambrose Patterson's *The Yarra Near Kew* (c. 1897) was purchased by Pinschof as well (plate 37).

Streeton expressed his enthusiasm over the sales at his Melbourne exhibition in a letter to Roberts"...ever since the Gallery - Springthorpe Lynch & Pinschof & Dr Meyer - have bought... - Mather offered me as a result of the trust meeting £150 for the big one [*Purple Noon's Transparent Might*]...." The latter, a large study of the Hawkesbury River, was the first painting by Streeoton to be bought by the National Gallery of Victoria. Baldwin Spencer, Professor of Biology at Melbourne University and a Trustee of the Gallery, and Marshall-Hall, both avid patrons of art, bought works and Marshall-Hall also encouraged important people to go to Streeoton's show. The exhibition included the four paintings which had been purchased by the Art Gallery of New South Wales. Streeton's shows in Melbourne and Sydney were successful, making him one of the few artists who could support himself from his paintings. Nevertheless Streeton, like many of his contemporaries, still felt that patronage was insufficient for artists in Australia, and determined to go to London to try his luck and to learn from and compete with the best artists in Europe. Prior to
leaving, Streeton wrote to Roberts: "This country is full of wealth, but somehow can't afford artists yet. Why, dammit, bricklayers, scene shifters, office boys all get their work recognised and are able to go on - and if I were recognised more I could PAINT MORE. Perhaps I'd have the same trouble in Europe, but I must risk it..."26 Streeton left Sydney in January 1897 equipped with letters of introduction from Pinschof and some financial assistance from wealthy friends.27

On the journey to London, Streeton visited Cairo and enjoyed the Arab and Islamic metropolis so much that he remained for three months. Painting directly in front of his subject, he produced a number of 'orientalist' street and market scenes and views of mosques and the Sphinx. Since the nineteenth century, artists had been lured to Egypt where they painted the exotic terrain and customs. Their pictures often have narrative interest; however, Streeton concentrated on the topographical. In London, being unknown to gallery owners, Streeton was unsuccessful in his attempts to hold an exhibition of his Egyptian works, so he sent several of these to Australia.28 Pinschof purchased Streeton's watercolour Street Scene Cairo (1897) from the artist's brother Herbert who acted as Streeton's agent in Melbourne.29 Pinschof was keen to acquire an example of this phase in Streeton's development and to support him financially. Streeton's watercolour depicts a street bazaar (plate 38). The delicate sienna-greys and contrasting purple-blues are enhanced by the chartreuse of the Arab's tunic. Streeton has made a feature of the exotic shapes of the ancient world. Streeton's letter from Cairo, published in The Bulletin, conveys his enthusiasm for the strong Mediterranean light, the crowded bazaars, the variety of cultures and his pride in being part of the British Empire.30

The Pinschofs first met Tom Roberts in 1895 in Sydney, through Miss Goode.31 He was by then an established portrait painter with private patrons in Melbourne and the most sought-after portraitist in Sydney. Roberts had also sold portraits to the Art Gallery of New South Wales and had some success as a painter of large Australian subject pictures.32 In 1899 Pinschof commissioned Roberts to execute a portrait of his wife and Pinschof's inventory informs that he paid £31-10-0 for Madame Pinschof (1899) (plate 39 a). "My father ordered the pastel of my mother when we were on a visit to Sydney" Pinschof's daughter Elisabeth remembered.33 Miss Goode recalled "I suggested before leaving that...it would be an opportunity to have Madame's portrait painted by him. As there was not time for one in oils, Tom Roberts did a vivid and striking portrait in pastels and signed it 'Con Amore' "34 (appropriately a music term, as a direction, tenderly and lovingly). Roberts had earlier given his paintings musical titles in the manner of Whistler. Roberts' portrait conveys the fine presence of the 47 year old dramatic soprano. This pastel belongs to the 90s period in Roberts' oeuvre.
when his portraits were fashionably stylish and decorative. The side-on pose accentuates the diva’s diaphragm and the attention to detail of costume is decorative. Roberts’ interest in extravagant poses was to increase. In the pastel of Wiedermann the warm reds highlight the face (plate 39 b). Roberts usually painted friends and acquaintances in portraits which are warm and informal and much different from his impersonal commissions for official portraits. Some of Roberts’ most innovative and subtle portraits were of women connected with music and the theatre, where Roberts’ sympathies lay. However, while he enjoyed painting portraits, they did primarily provide an income as Roberts had a wife and child to support. He would have preferred to paint more Australian subject paintings and more allegorical works but large subject or history pictures were costly to paint, demanding much material and labour. They were also difficult to sell due to the local bias for imported English art.

Moreover, few spaces could accommodate large canvases such as his Shearing The Rams (1890). In Roberts’ desire to paint more allegorical works, obtaining suitable models was his major obstacle.

In 1900 Elise Pinschof commissioned Roberts to produce a double portrait of her two older daughters as a surprise for her husband’s birthday. For Elisabeth and Carmen Pinschof (1900) she paid £21 (plate 40). To a fellow artist Roberts had said in the the late 1880s "I often see a beautiful young girl, just the type I want for some subject I hold in mind” now he could realize his wish to paint such a subject. In the 90s Roberts had been stimulated by his use of a new medium, pastel, a soft decorative medium that he handled with sensitivity. At the time pastel was considered specially suited for the rendition of feminine and childish grace. In the 1880s European artists in Melbourne such as Carl Kahler had exhibited pastel portraits. Since pastel does not allow over-working, Roberts’ pastels have a freshness lacking in his more formal oil portraits. In Roberts’ pastel Elisabeth on the left aged 15 and Carmen (right) aged 16, glow with the inner life noted by Marshall-Hall. In his book of poems Hymns Ancient and Modern of 1898 he dedicated these lines to Carmen on her birthday:

Oft have I heard thy mother sing,
And listening
Felt all my soul dissolve and die
In that enraptured flood of melody;
Yet knew I not sweet strains could warm
To mortal form
Till, little maiden, wonderingly
I saw Carmen carminum in thee.

In the portrait, the girls’ strangely penetrating gaze and Carmen’s flowing hair convey inner mood and the late 19th century emphasis on the enigmatic woman with which the Pinschofs would have been in tune, as Madame Wiedermann had often sung
Marshall-Hall's dramatic ballad *La Belle Dame Sans Merci* (1893). The rounded contours are skilfully related to the graceful tilt of the oval heads. Warm dark colours are subtly balanced against the cloudy white of the muslin sleeves.

Wagner's concept of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, the total work of art in which all the arts combine, was admired by the Symbolists. They believed that music, colour and form could arouse emotion independent of the subject described and that the artist should use images to suggest the inner states of mind. For a brief period in the late 1890s Roberts' work shows Symbolist tendencies, as in *Elisabeth and Carmen Pinschof* and even more in *Adagio* (1899) (plate 41) where he fuses visual image with musical associations. The Pinschosfs and Marshall-Hall, total Wagnerians, would have encouraged Roberts' development of this style. Symbolist leanings had existed since the late 1880s in the allegories of Richardson, Loureiro and Conder. Roberts' artist friends in London were also aligned with the Symbolist aesthetic. Marshall-Hall propagated his own version of Wagner's theories of art in the press and in his lectures which were largely attended by artists. The interchange with artists can be sensed in his published lectures and criticism.

*Louise Pinschof* (1900), the portrait of the youngest Pinschof daughter, was commissioned by Miss Goode from Roberts (plate 42). Goode had witnessed how much the Pinschosfs admired the portrait of Elisabeth and Carmen and also thought it a shame that Roberts had only painted the two elder sisters. It bears the inscription "To Mr and Mrs Pinschoff from N.E.G." and was given to celebrate their close friendship. Roberts has captured the naivety of the boyish, ten-year-old Louise.

Goode then asked Roberts to produce a portrait in pastel of herself. In *Nancy Elmhurst Goode* (1900) Roberts focuses on the singer's shoulders, back and waist and her face is turned to the right (plate 43). Roberts' enthusiasm for striking poses is fully developed here.

Roberts placed photographs of the portraits of the Pinschof daughters and Miss Goode in his scrapbook, so the works must have been important to him. In 1900 the Pinschof portraits, together with other pastels by Roberts, were exhibited at the Old Court House in Melbourne where Goode recalled that they "were much admired for their richness and softness of tone, and proved another example of the artist's versatility." Pinschof advanced the career of Roberts and was also public spirited in allowing works from his collection to be exhibited. Goode elaborated: "After that there was quite a vogue for his portraits in pastel, which occupied some time".
Later Wiedermann, Goode and the staff and students of the Conservatorium commissioned Roberts to paint a portrait in oils of Professor Marshall-Hall: *Professor G.W.L. Marshall-Hall* (1900) (plate 44).\(^{53}\) It was painted at the time that the Professor's appointment at Melbourne University was being debated and the face is that of a beleaguered man.\(^{54}\) This thoughtful gift must have consoled him. He treasured the portrait all his life.\(^{55}\) Roberts had also painted an earlier portrait of his friend Marshall-Hall.\(^{56}\)

Elise Wiedermann fostered the early musical talent of Fritz Muller.\(^{57}\) She later helped the eleven-year-old pianist to raise money for his trip to study in Berlin and sang as a guest artist to the accompaniment of Muller's piano at a benefit concert in 1899 at the Exhibition Buildings.\(^{58}\) Muller was a pupil of Miss Adelaide Burkitt who also taught Percy Grainger.\(^{59}\) Fritz Muller returned to Australia for a successful concert tour in 1903.\(^{60}\) A close bond existed between the Pinschofs and the Mullers who had German background and culture in common. The Pinschof girls were tutored by Frederick Muller while Muller's daughter Lischen was artist Hugh Ramsay's fiancée.\(^{61}\) Pinschof allowed Ramsay, the extremely talented artist, to have a large room for his studio at his trading company in Flinders Lane West before Ramsay left for Europe.\(^{62}\) Ramsay had studied at the National Gallery School from 1894 to 1899 and then sailed for Paris in September 1900 with the proceeds from a raffle of his paintings organized by Baldwin Spencer together with some financial assistance from his family.\(^{63}\) After studying at Colarossi's studio, he returned to Melbourne in 1902 where he painted until his premature death in 1906. Melba gave Ramsay immense support after meeting him in Paris through fellow expatriate artist, Ambrose Patterson, whom she also assisted (Patterson's brother was married to Melba's sister).\(^{64}\) Pinschof bought a small oil sketch by Ambrose Patterson, painted in sombre tones and depicting the winding Yarra near the Pinschof home 'Studley Hall': *The Yarra Near Kew* (c. 1897) (plate 37).\(^{65}\) Patterson had studied at the National Gallery School and then with Emanuel Phillips Fox and Tudor St George Tucker. In 1898 he went to Paris where he attended the Académie Julian. After further studies and success in Europe, he returned to Australia in 1910 and received portrait commissions.\(^{66}\) Traditionally artists and musicians support each other and this was particularly evident in the late 19th century and the Edwardian era. Melbourne's growing artistic community enthusiastically followed this practice.

In July 1900 the Pinschofs bought the Italianate mansion 'Waverley' which they renamed 'Studley Hall'.\(^{57}\) Set on the wooded heights of Studley Park Kew, one of Melbourne's exclusive areas, 'Studley Hall' overlooked the Yarra valley and the city of Melbourne (plates 45 and 46). The Pinschofs' love of the Australian landscape
would have contributed greatly to their decision to settle in Studley Park. The spot had been favoured by artists since the mid 19th century and there in the late 1870s Roberts and McCubbin first began to appreciate the beauty of the untouched Australian bush.  

At 'Studley Hall' visiting artists could take in the views and gain inspiration. The house also served as the Austro-Hungarian consulate.  

While Wilhelm Brahe, the German consul also had an impressive home in Hawthorn designed by J.A.B. Koch, he was a widower in his eighties and, unlike Pinschof, did not have assets such as Elise Wiedermann and three charming daughters, all well-known singers, who could contribute socially and culturally to Melbourne. Thus the Pinschofs were Melbourne's greatest promoters of German culture and strong supporters of Australian artists and musicians; and one of the leading families on the social scene. The large ballroom 20.4 x 8.4 meters (plate 47) provided the ideal display area for the Pinschofs' collection of paintings, and works were also hung in rooms throughout the house.  

It was their joint pleasure in collecting works of art and in sharing them with friends and their many distinguished visitors, which increased the visibility of Australian artists. Their gracious home was a congenial place where artists and prospective patrons met. The ballroom also served as a setting for the many concerts organized by Madame Wiedermann. In 1902 after Melba's opening concert in Melbourne, following her first triumph in Europe, she brought her party to 'Studley Hall' and Tom Roberts attended this supper party as a guest of the Pinschofs. These evenings, enjoyed by Melbourne's political, musical, artistic and academic community and visiting dignitaries, had the pulsing and discriminating camaraderie of the Vienna Cafe society.

In the press Elise Wiedermann expressed her perceptions of the arts in Melbourne "we have no traditions, no leisured class. The predominance of money-making instincts and the complete lack of outside stimulants are a severe handicap. An artist must create atmosphere" and later Wiedermann explained "In art, you know, it is not the drawing of lines or contours, or the mixing of paints, that makes the picture; it is the mind and spirit that uses the pigments only as a medium of expression...Take the most surprising voice in the world, and if the intellect and taste do not correspond, then it is more or less a wasted gift." The Pinschofs provided just such an environment where the artist's mind could be cultivated. Goode recalled "The Pinschofs' hospitality was proverbial. They were happiest when entertaining well-known artists and those interested in art, and always so unaffected and natural." In 1906 a close friend of the Pinschofs, the German writer and one of the most outstanding German-Australians in Melbourne, Herbert Wilhelm Püttmann, was inspired to write poetry about Madame Pinschof as a radiant hostess and dedicated it to her:
...I saw you in the glow of the occasion
...In you nature
and art are happily waiting
you become through this alive and charming
...do you hear what you have placed into the souls
when the tender songs surround you...

Around 1901 Pinschof bought paintings by the visiting Hungarian artist Baron Arpad Paszthory, according to Pinschof's daughter to help him carry on his art. Baroness Heloise Paszthory was a student of Madame Wiedermann at the Albert Street Conservatorium. Pinschof commissioned from the artist a portrait of Melba for which he paid £50. In *Madame Melba* (1902) (plate 48) Paszthory presents Melba in regal pose and in full evening dress, expressing the Pinschofs' belief in the Romantic idea of artistic genius. Melba was treated like a queen during her first Australian tour and she looked and acted the part. The Pinschofs exhibited the grand portrait in the foyer of the lavish Princess Theater during the opera season. It was one of several portraits of Melba painted by artists at the time. Pinschof generously presented the portrait to the University of Melbourne for Melba Hall on its opening in 1913. However it was subsequently removed. In 1986 Pinschof's great nephew, noted flautist Thomas Pinschof who emigrated to Australia in the late 1970s, saw to it that the portrait was restored to its rightful place. Pinschof acquired a pastel of Jan Ignace Paderewski, the Polish pianist and friend of Melba who was brought out to tour Australia by John Lemmone in 1904. Paderewski was then in his prime. His solo work, his playing of the Emperor and Chopin Concertos, and his own *Fantaisie-Polonaise* with orchestra were a revelation to Australian audiences. Pinschof also purchased from Paszthory a portrait of himself, one of Emperor Franz Josef of Austria and a scene of Black Rock and one of Algiers. A view of Lower Austria was presented to Elise by the artist. While in Melbourne Paszthory also painted a portrait of Lord Mayor Samuel Gillot which hung in the Melbourne Town Hall.

In March 1901 Pinschof paid £1000 for the full-size bronze, *Circe* (1892-3) by expatriate sculptor, Bertram Mackennal (plate 49). Mackennal had brought his bronze patinated plaster *Circe* and a number of his other works to Melbourne for exhibition at the National Gallery of Victoria in February. According to Elisabeth Finley her father bought *Circe* for the figure asked by the sculptor. The Gallery had attempted to beat down the price, much to Pinschof's disgust. Pinschof also agreed to the terms that the copyright was to be held by the artist. Pinschof had already bought two small bronze figures from Mackennal's exhibition: *Truth* (1894) for £65 and *Salome* (1897) for £40.
*Circe* was a milestone in the history of Australian sculpture. This beautifully crafted and arresting work had received accolades at the Paris Salon in 1893, and the controversy provoked by the base, when *Circe* was displayed at the Royal Academy London the following year, had made Mackennal famous.92 Mackennal considered *Circe* his major work.93 In January 1894 Bernard Hall, Director of the National Gallery of Victoria, had tried to interest the trustees in buying *Circe*. Hall wrote that judging from photographs and advice received "it seems to me to be a genuine work of genius - very remarkable and impressive - (without doubt I should say Young Australia’s *chef d'œuvre* (sic))".94 Mackennal also would have liked *Circe* to have been bought by the gallery.95 The sale of the work caused controversy. The President of the Trustees wrote to *The Argus* accusing Mackennal of reneging on an agreement of sale and of being mercenary.96 In reply Frank Stuart and Doctors Felix Meyer and John Springthorpe, patrons of Mackennal, felt called upon to protect the artist in his absence: "We, his friends, and Mr. Pinschoff...[sic] are absolutely satisfied...that he had never knowingly agreed to any terms of payment ..."97 While it is customary that trustees of public galleries expect a reduced price because the artist would benefit from having his work in their collection, because the acquisition is in the public interest and because funding is limited, the reason why the trustees failed to secure *Circe* was due to the impossibility of their terms which showed a total disregard for the artist’s interests.98 If Pinschof had not stepped in, *Circe* would most probably have been lost to Australia. Private patrons are very important to artists and to a nation. Artists need them to buy their work, look after their welfare and to advise them in business. Private and corporate patrons often secure works for the country when institutional patrons are unable to commit themselves. Mackennal demonstrated good sense in accepting the more advantageous offer.

Pinschof would have become interested in Mackennal’s work through Roberts and Streton and because Melba and Sarah Bernhardt had commissioned portraits, not to mention Mackennal’s success overseas.99 Having studied the classics, Pinschof would have appreciated Circe, the beguiling sorceress in Greek mythology and the winged figure of Eros at the base of the sculpture. Though the overt sexuality of the figure owes much to Mackennal’s knowledge of Rodin, *Circe* was similar in allegorical intent and design to the work of the English New Sculpture Movement.100 The intensity and mood in particular is Symbolist and Pinschof already appreciated the portrait of his daughters, in the Symbolist style, by Roberts. In Symbolist art and literature women were invariably portrayed as either benign or treacherous, Circe epitomised the *femme fatale*. 

88
Owing a large impressive sculpture such as Circe was befitting a patron of the arts and resident of 'Studley Hall' - Pinschof's daughter, Mrs Finley recalled that Circe stood between the two grand pianos at the end of the ballroom, framed by the arched window (plate 47). Indeed Pinschof's fine room, able to display Mackennal's masterpiece to advantage, contributed to the sculptor's decision to sell to Pinschof. Pinschof already had a sculpture on show at 'Studley Hall' which had been a gift, a reproduction of a famous Austrian piece, Empress Elisabeth of Austria (1878) by Viktor Tilgner, the leading public sculptor of the Ringstrasse era.

When Pinschof purchased the bronzed figure of Truth (1894) (plate 50) at Mackennal's exhibition he would have been familiar with the work, as a statuette had previously been presented to the patron Frank Stuart. Mackennal's Truth, a winged creature on the top of a globe, would have been inspired by the sculptured figure of Truth, described in H. Rider Haggard's popular novel, She published in 1888. This winged sculpture was allegorical of the truth which, as Ruskin had also said, was the goal of art. Standing on a sphere she was "a beauty...entrancing and divine" as is Mackennal's statuette. Truth was a favourite subject with Mackennal. At the base of Mackennal's statuette of Truth is again the crouched figure of Eros and also an open-mouthed woman with flowing tresses, in Secession style. As mentioned previously, Pinschof also bought the statuette Salome (1897) (plate 51). Salome, the temptress who danced before Herod, was another manifestation of the femme fatale theme, popular with the Symbolist movement. Mackennal has depicted her holding a sabre, a pose suggesting the decapitation of John the Baptist. This figure of the young Salome, with her headress and sword, is very erotic. A further sculpture, an untitled bronze relief (c. 1892-1895), depicts the antithesis of the femme fatale: a refined heroine, her winged helmet and her costume indicate that she is a goddess (plate 52). This compelling work was a present from the sculptor to Pinschof, his beneficent patron and is not necessarily indicative of Pinschof's taste.

In 1910 Pinschof offered to sell Circe to the National Gallery of Victoria and the trustees bought it for £1200 under the terms of the Felton Bequest. In his obituary tribute to Pinschof in The Herald in 1926, Theodore Fink wrote that Pinschof surrendered Circe to the Gallery in the public interest. Perhaps parted with Circe would have been a more accurate account. Pinschof also made a £200 profit in eight years which shows that he was a good businessman. However one must remember that Pinschof had bought the sculpture in the first place partly so that it would remain in the country.
In 1901 Edmund Fisher had written in *The Bulletin* "note that Melbourne's one enterprising patron of art just now is Pinschof, the Austrian."\textsuperscript{111} By comparison the art patron, Dr John Springthorpe was heavily in debt. He had conceived an elaborate memorial to his wife in the Kew Cemetery which was executed by architect Harold Desbrowe Annear together with Mackennal. Dr Springthorpe did not become free from his financial burden until 1908.\textsuperscript{112} Another prominent patron, Louis Abrahams, would suicide in 1903 and Baldwin Spencer only emerged as a major patron from 1906.\textsuperscript{113}
VII The Pinschosfs: Patrons of Art

1 Pinschof inventory 1914.

2 Moore, 1934, vol. II, p. 27.


4 Streeton to Roberts 12 October 1892 in Galbally and Gray (eds.), 1989, p. 54 and note 33. Golden Summer; Eaglemont had been purchased on the opening day by Charles Mitchell of Armstrong, Whitworth and Co, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

5 Streeton to Theodore Fink early April 1890, Theodore Fink papers, Department of Education, University of Melbourne, also in Galbally and Gray (eds.), 1989, pp. 16-17.

6 These dress boards were supplied by Reuben Brash, founder of the camp. He had established the department store 'Brash's Corner' in Oxford Street. Brash was brother-in-law to Louis Abrahams, Thoms, 1991, pp. 49-50.

7 Pinschof inventory 1914.


9 Prospectus of 1896 for the University Conservatorium of Music, and The New Idea, 6 October 1904, p. 3.


11 From Melbourne, Streeton had written to Roberts in Sydney in early October 1892 "The Prof. and I look on the whole art question here in the only reasonable and contention way - from a pessimistic point of view", R.H. Croll (ed), Smoke to Bulldog, Letters from Sir Arthur Streeton to Tom Roberts, Ure Smith, Sydney, 1946, p. 36. Miss Goode recalling Roberts in Melbourne wrote that through not getting the necessary support, he was compelled to move to Mosman, Croll, 1935, p. 155.

12 For example, patrons of Roberts and Streeton, Jakob and Elise Pfund were hit by the bank crashes. They sold their holiday house at Mount Macedon and moved to their house in St Kilda, Die Woche in Australien, 200 Jahre Geschichte Der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft in Australien 1788-1988, Europa Kurier, Sydney, 1988, p. 90.


14 In 1889 as a Trustee of the Art Gallery of New South Wales (1889-1899) Julian Ashton had managed to have a resolution carried "that not less than five hundred pounds be spent annually on the purchase of Australian works of art" whereas when the artist of the Melbourne board of Trustees John Mather (appointed 1892) proposed in 1894 that the £250 per annum to be expended on pictures by Australian artists should be increased to £500, his motion was not seconded, The Age, 13 August 1894, cited by Leigh Astbury "Cash Buyers Welcome: Australian Artists and Bohemianism in the 1890s", Journal of Australian Studies, no. 20, May, 1987, note 19.
15 Pinschof inventory 1914 and Streeton’s Sydney Sunshine Exhibition Elizabeth Street, Melbourne, December 1896, cat. nos. 4 and 35.

16 Pinschof inventory 1914.

17 Sirius Cove (c. 1890) oil on cedar panel, Art Gallery of Western Australia and Near Streeton’s Camp at Sirius Cove (1892), oil on canvas on cardboard, New England Regional Art Museum, Armidale, Thoms, 1991, cat. nos. 72 and 73.


19 G.W.L. Marshall-Hall, Hymn to Sydney, 1897.

20 Pinschof inventory 1914.

21 Alexander McClinstock (1869-1922) was born in Ireland and arrived in South Australia in 1879. McCulloch, 1984, vol. 2, pp. 723-724. Mather had studied in Glasgow and Edinburgh before arriving in Melbourne in 1878. He came to plein air painting through his association with Louis Buvelot. Mather was the first artist trustee of the National Gallery of Victoria from 1893 and a member of the Felton Bequest Committee 1905-1916. A founding member of the Australian Artists’ Association in 1886, he was later president of the Victorian Artists’ Society 1893-1900 and thereafter president many times, Clark and Whitelaw, 1986, p. 23, Blyth, 1986, pp. 438-439 and Topliss, 1984, pp. 76, 50 and 66.

22 Streeton to Roberts 18 December 1896 in Galbally and Gray (eds.), 1989, p. 68.

23 Cox, 1970, p.46. Streeton’s Purple Noon’s Transparent Might was purchased on the recommendation of the Director, Lindsay Bernard Hall, he considered it "most characteristically Australian", Hall to the Chairman of the Trustees, December 1896, quoted by Cox, 1970, p. 425, note 9.


25 Streeton’s Sydney Sunshine Exhibition, Melbourne, 1896, cat. nos. 36-39, Still Glides the Stream, Fire’s On, Surveyor’s Camp and Cremorne Pastoral. See also note 3.


28 Streeton to Frederick Delmer c. October 1897, Galbally and Gray (eds.), 1989, p. 75.


31 Goode in Croll, 1935, p. 155. Wiedermann was in Sydney where she sang, at the concerts of violinist Johann Kruse, songs by Wagner, Schubert and Brahms. Kruse had left Melbourne, aged

32 The Art Gallery of New South Wales had bought two portraits in 1892 for a total of £73-10-0, Thoms, 1991, p. 56. One of these was Roberts' elegant profile portrait Eileen (1892) a portrait of Mrs Eileen Tooker of Rockhampton, Topliss, 1985, cat. no. 187. The Sydney Gallery had also bought Shearing at Newstead (1894) in 1894 for £275, Topliss, cat. no. 216 and the Art Gallery of South Australia had purchased The Breakaway (1890) in 1899 (Elder Bequest Fund), Clark and Whitelaw, 1986, p. 136. In 1890 Edward Trenchard, a prominent Melbourne stock agent, had bought Shearing the Rams (1890) for £350 which was considered a high price at the time. It hung in his office in Collins Street next to his own portrait of c. 1890 which he commissioned from Roberts, Table Talk, July 1890, cited by Topliss, vol 1, cat. no. 167, p. 119.

33 Finley to Mancini 16 February 1979.


35 George Taylor, who knew Roberts in Sydney in the 1890s, recalled that he once asked the artist why he had confined his art to portraiture: "Portraits pay, George my boy the dear chap would say, as he would soften the red tint on the nose of a politician...", George Taylor, Those were the Days, Sydney, 1918, p. 100.

36 Miss Jane Price, who had a studio next to Roberts at Grosvenor Chambers in the late 1880s, remembered Roberts' frustration at not being able to paint more history and allegorical paintings, Croll, 1935, p. 150 ff.

37 ibid.

38 Goode in Croll, 1935, p. 156.

39 Pinschon inventory 1914.


41 Catalogue of the unrivalled collection of oil paintings and pastels of Herr Kahler to be sold by auction at Tuckett Chambers, Collins Street, Melbourne on 7 May, 1890. Kahler's studio was in Elizabeth Street, he exhibited with the Victorian Artists' Society and he bought work at the 9 By 5 Impression Exhibition, "Sales of Impressionist Sketches", Table Talk, 30 August 1889, p. 6.

42 "To Carmen on her birthday", G.W.L. Marshall-Hall, Hymns Ancient and Modern, Melbourne, 1898, p. 17.

43 Goode in Croll, 1935, p. 160. La Belle Dame Sans Merci was first performed by the Marshall-Hall Orchestra 26 August 1893, Radic, 1982, pp. 23 and 47 note 91.

44 Dr Virginia Spate wrote that Elisabeth and Carmen Pinschon and Adagio show Roberts' interest in Symbolism and she pointed out that Wagnerite, Marshall-Hall would have encouraged Roberts' development of "imaginative art", Virginia Spate, Tom Roberts, Lansdowne, Melbourne, 1972, pp. 101 and 117. Roberts' sketchbook in the National Gallery of Victoria contains a pencil
drawing for the portrait of the Pinschof daughters, Virginia Spate MS cat. no. 473 and Topliss, 1985, vol. 1, cat. no. 347a, vol 2, plate 153. Topliss dates Adagio 1893 claiming that it is close in mood and in its fluid handling and warm tonality to Plink a Plong (1893). However, I accept Spate's 1899 dating, feeling that Adagio exemplifies Roberts' late 90s interest in Symbolist ideas and mysterious female subjects. Its warm tonality is also similar to the Pinschof portraits. In the 90s a few Australian artists had exhibited paintings entitled Adagio in Melbourne and Sydney, Clark and Whitelaw, 1986, p. 169.

45 Sculptor George Frampton and painter and illustrator Maurice Greiffenhagen, Topliss, 1985, vol. 1, pp. 5 and 36-37.

46 Streeton to Pring 18 July 1895 in Galbally and Gray (eds.), 1989, p. 63. Marshall-Hall's lectures on topics such as "The Essential in Art" were largely attended by painters, Australasian Art Review, 1 July 1899, p. 11, cited by Astbury, 1987, note 37.

47 Goode in Croll, 1935, p. 156.


49 Goode in Croll, 1935, p. 156.

50 Roberts Scrapbook, Mitchell Library, PX*D310 CY1908, pp. 50 and 53.

51 Goode and Miss Elizabeth Fraser in Croll, 1935, pp. 74 and 156. Catalogue unlocated.

52 Goode in Croll, 1935, p.156.

53 ibid.

54 The portrait was exhibited in July 1900 at the Victorian Artists' Society, cat. no. 42, Topliss, 1985, vol 1, p. 167. The University Council voted against extending Marshall-Hall's contract on 25 June 1900, Radic, 1982, p. 27.


56 Roberts had painted a full-length portrait of Marshall-Hall Professor G.W.L. Marshall-Hall (1899) as part of his series of panel portraits of his friends in the arts. In this portrait, Roberts has made a feature of Marshall-Hall's size and his extrovert personality, Marshall-Hall stands feet apart with his hands on his hips and his gaze confronts the viewer, Performing Arts Museum Collection, Melbourne, reproduced in Topliss, 1985, vol. 2, plate no. 142.

57 Patricia Fullerton, Hugh Ramsay: His Life and Work, Hudson, Melbourne, 1988, p. 42. Frau Muller was born Wilhelmina von Zeuner. A countess, she had also been lady-in-waiting to the Kaiscrin. She and Muller had eloped and emigrated to Melbourne in 1888, Fullerton, pp. 39 and 41.


59 Grainger Museum, University of Melbourne, index drawer.

60 In 1903 Wiedermann again sang to the accompaniment of Muller's piano, Fullerton, 1988, p. 114.

Fullerton, 1988, p. 40, caption beneath illustration, photograph of studio.

ibid. p. 46.


Pinschof inventory 1914.


Keaney, 1966, pp. 137-141; p. 139.


Keaney, 1966, p. 140.


Pinschof dinner parties of 1914 included guests Arthur Streeton, Professor Masson, University of Melbourne, Sir Frank Madden, M.L.A., Sir John Forrest, Commonwealth treasurer, Lord Mayor Hennessy and Arthur Baillieu, seating arrangements included in Pinschof’s book of memoranda, photocopy by Dr Middelmann. Photocopy made available to me by Ms Anne Mancini.

Nellie Melba to Madame Pinschof 25 September 1902 included in Pinschof’s book of memoranda, photocopy by Dr Middelmann, photocopy of letter made available to me by Ms Anne Mancini. Goode in Croll, 1935, p. 161. In the 1960s Mrs Steele of Ettick Street, Kew clearly recalled Edwardian Melbourne and the enchanting experience of listening across the garden to Melba, Florence Austral and other great singers when the Pinschofs were entertaining at a musical evening, Keaney, 1966, p. 139.


Finley to Mancini 16 February 1979.

The Australian Musical News, 2 October 1922, p. 103.

Pinschof inventory 1914.

Ibid.

Rupert Bunny Melba (1902) painted in London and in 1923 presented by Melba to J.C. Williamson, Her Majesty's Theatre, Melbourne, David Thomas, Rupert Bunny, Lansdowne, Melbourne, 1970, p. 45. In 1902 Melba commissioned a portrait by Hugh Ramsay for which she only completed an oil sketch, Fullerton, 1988, pp. 96 and 103, plate 30. George Coates had painted Melba in 1901, Fullerton, pp. 50 and 92.

Pinschof inventory 1914.

Thomas Pinschof and also Rosemary Florrimeill, Grainger Museum, pers. comm. 1990.

Orchard, 1952, p. 42.

Pinschof inventory 1914 and Cathy Backwall, Melbourne City Council Archivist, pers. comm.


Ibid.


The Trustees' terms were that Mackennal would receive £300 on receipt of the full-size bronze and £500 in instalments within two years (Mackennal would cast the full-size version at his own expense around £300), the trustees also wished to own the copyright, Langton to Mackennal 8 March 1901, published in The Argus, 29 March 1901. These terms Mackennal understandably rejected. Pinschof agreed that the artist would retain the copyright. The bronze founder E. Gruet jeune, Paris, cast the full-size statue and in 1902-1904 produced an edition of eight statuette casts, Noel Hutchison, "Tempest Imperious" in Adelaide, Art Gallery of South Australia, Creating Australia: 200 Years of Art, Daniel Thomas, 1988, pp. 128-129; p. 129.

The Bulletin, 13 April 1901, p. 15 and Pinschof inventory 1914.

At the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition, Circe was displayed in a place of honour however the hanging committee had felt that the nude figures, in acts of lust at the base of the sculpture, would corrupt the public therefore the sculpture was displayed with the base covered with a swathing of red baize. The controversy, provoked by the statue's exhibition, helped to make Mackennal's name, R. Jope Slade, "An Australian Quarteate", The Magazine of Art, London, August 1895, p.389, in Ken Scarlet, Australian Sculptors, Nelson, Melbourne, 1980, p. 410. Mackennal to Fink late June 1894, Fink papers, Department of Education, University of Melbourne.

Mackennal to Fink 1 July 1892, Fink papers, Department of Education, University of Melbourne.

Lindsay Bernard Hall letters 22 January 1894, cited by Cox, 1970, p. 50.
“I wish I could have got the Trustees on to buy my Circe, they owe me a good turn. Get yourself there Theodore, and put some modern ideas into them, let them know that Art is not smugbery” Mackennal to Fink, 10 March 1894, Fink papers, Department of Education, University of Melbourne. Mackennal was still annoyed because the trustees had decided not to award a first prize at all in the competition held in 1891 to match Sir Edgar Boehm’s statue outside the Gallery and award him the second prize which just covered his expenses to produce his entry, Table Talk, 17 July 1891, p.14 in Scarlet, 1980, p. 408.


The Argus, 1 April, 1901, ibid. p. 411.

See note 90.

In 1891 acclaimed actress Sarah Bernhardt, brought to Australia by J.C. Williamson, had given the struggling sculptor a commission for a relief portrait of herself and promised further support should he come to Paris, The Argus, 11 July 1891 quoted by Scarlet, 1980, pp. 404 and 407. In 1898 Melba had commissioned a marble bust of herself with a view to its presentation to the Public Library of Melbourne as a tribute in remembrance of her home town. Mackennal sculpted the bust in London and Melba donated it to the Library in 1899. Melba to W.E. Langton 24 October 1899 published in The Argus, 7 May 1900, p. 7, quoted in Downer and Phipps, 1985, p. 55. It is based on French academic public sculpture and is not as complex as Circe.

Mackennal had visited Rodin's studio in Paris in 1884-1885 where he was personally advised and instructed by the great French sculptor, Noel Hutchison, Bertram Mackennal, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1973, p. 6. Alfred Gilbert's Offering to Hymen (1886) is similar in mood and is also a life-size figure with an integrated base, bearing a scene related to the major figure. Alfred Gilbert was the most celebrated young British sculptor of the 19th century and the leader of the English New Sculpture movement which was linked to the Symbolist and Art Nouveau styles. Mackennal had met Gilbert in Paris in the early 90s, Hutchison, pp. 10-11. Susan Beatie, The New Sculpture, Yale, 1983, plate 134 Offering to Hymen.

Finley interview with Mancini 1979.

The Bulletin, 13 April 1901, p. 15.

Pinchhof inventory. Viktor Tilgner (1844-1896). His statues and busts based primarily on Viennese Baroque models, still populate the parks and the public buildings completed in Vienna in the 1870s and 1880s. See New York, Edith C. Blum Art Institute, Bard College, Botstein and Weintraub (eds), 1987, p. 151.

In 1898 Mackennal had sent a cast of Truth to a group of his patrons in Melbourne and Pinchhof's friend Theodore Fink organized that it be given to Frank Stuart, patron of the arts, politician and manufacturer, Mackennal to Fink 14 March, 1898, Fink papers, Department of Education, University of Melbourne and Francis Stuart, "Francis Stuart (1844-1910)", entry in Australian Dictionary of Biography, vol. 12, 1990, pp. 127-128.

Henry Rider Haggard, She, London, 1888, illustrated by Maurice Greiffenhagen, Chapter XXIII, "The Temple of Truth", Margaret Rose, Victorian Artists, Margaret Baskerville and C.D. Richardson Margaret Rose, Melbourne, 1988, pp. 76 and 101 note 100.

The Triumph of Truth (1891), Mackennal's entry to match Boehm's St George and the Dragon outside the National Gallery of Victoria.

Pinschof inventory 1914.

Charles Bage, Chairman, The Felton Bequests' Committee to The Chief Librarian and Secretary Public Library, Museums and National Gallery of Victoria, 23 February 1910, National Gallery of Victoria library, Correspondence and opinions on works considered for purchase, 2/2 January-June 1910.

Fink, "A Friend to Music and the Arts", *The Herald*, 24 May 1926. In 1904 the munificent bequest of Melbourne druggist, Alfred Felton enabled the National Gallery of Victoria to spend £100,000 on works of art annually. Felton's will specified that a trust be set up, that art advisers be appointed and that the works ancient or modern have educational value. Felton (1831-1904) had arrived in Melbourne from England in 1853. From the late 1880s, in keeping with Melbourne taste, he bought English 19th century and Australian colonial paintings including the work of von Guerard and also Bavarian and Dutch landscapes, Vaughan, 1976, Chapter III, Part C and Ursula Hoff, *The Felton Bequest*, National Gallery of Victoria, 1983, pp. 5 and 7.


Initially the memorial had cost £5000. By the time that Springthorpe emerged from his financial burden in 1908 the commission cost him £10,000, Spicer, 1987, p. 44.

CHAPTER VIII

Fully-Fledged Patron of Art

The Boer War marked a turning point in German-Australian relations, illuminating the dangers inherent in the Anglo-German conflict for the German-Australians which would become vivid with World War I. As a result of William II's public expressions of sympathy for Britain's enemies in South Africa, even those Germans in Australia who were quite indifferent to the whole conflict were made to suffer from the excesses of the British patriotism of Australians. From the 1880s Australians had felt increasingly threatened by the presence of Germany and France in the Pacific. It was thought that Federation would help the economic development of Australia as well as increase the defensive strength of the Empire. In spite of Australia's new sense of nationhood attained with Federation, Australians remained intensely loyal to the Mother Country, indeed Federation encouraged an Imperialist nationalism. When the Duke of York and his wife Princess May of Teck took part in the opening of the first Australian Federal Parliament in 1901, the Australians response to the royal visitors was ecstatic. As a gesture to international relations Kaiser Wilhelm II instructed the German Consul General to ensure that the Germans in Australia would also participate in the Duke's welcome. Upon arrival in Melbourne, which was decorated with arches and garlands, the Duke and Duchess passed under a triumphal arch erected in their honour by German-Australians and designed by the German-born architect, J.A.B. Koch (plate 53). Above the arch was emblazoned "The German Citizens hail the Commonwealth" and "PEACE AND GOODWILL TO UNITED AUSTRALIA" which clearly expresses the dual loyalty of German-Australians. Carl and Elise Pinschof, being among the most distinguished hosts in Melbourne, accompanied the Royal couple to the German Club. At this point in time, Pinschof was a recognized public figure.

Some prominent citizens felt the need to mark the occasion of Federation, a significant episode in Australian history. The Australian Art Association, a commercial firm formed in Melbourne especially to commission a painting commemorating the opening of the first parliament, the historic ceremony performed at the Exhibition Building. The commission, which stipulated that 250 distinguished guests be recognizable, was eventually offered to Tom Roberts. While their patriotism is undeniable, the association looked for a financial return in the sale of photogravures which were made by Goupil & Co., Paris (though they brought the
Pinschof had earlier organized that Kahler's large Flemington paintings be reproduced by Goupils and this must have had some influence on the production of the Federal picture. Though first given to James Clarke Waite, who found the size of the canvas too cramping, the commission satisfied all Roberts' ambitions: finally he was being reasonably paid for a national work that would establish his reputation in London. Roberts had already decided to leave Australia due to lack of recognition. According to his contemporary and biographer R.H. Croll, Tom Roberts was no businessman. Croll wrote that Roberts ever spoke gratefully of the help afforded him, in this regard, by his staunch friend, Mr Carl Pinschof, who attended to the agreement for the Federal picture. Roberts was paid 1,000 guineas, together with expenses for interstate trips and renting a studio in London. It was agreed that Roberts would work four days a week and was free to execute private commissions. Miss Goode, in her memoir of Roberts, claimed that the artist had told her that Pinschof had made it possible for him to accept the commission by undertaking the responsibility for the secretarial work, which involved writing hundreds of letters. The artist and the patron were roughly the same age and got on well as friends. Goode recalled:

In the stimulating atmosphere of 'Studley Hall', with its generous hospitality to all lovers of art and the enthusiastic whole-hearted help of Carl Pinschof [sic], Roberts received encouragement in his great task...at 'Studley Hall'...there was always plenty of the best of music...Roberts looked on their house as a second home, and could enjoy his quiet chat with Mr Pinschof [sic] on the lawns or in the library or billiard-room...then, as ever, preferring men's society!

Pinschof and Roberts were both friends with politicians who were leading the push towards Federation. Anticipating developments in Australia towards national independence, Pinschof had argued the need for a central bank, for fully-paid shares, for long-term finance and for tertiary education in commerce and public service. The Pinschofs would become naturalized in 1909, and Pinschof would no longer be Honorary Consul for Austria-Hungary. It was the Pinschofs' feelings for Australia together with their firm belief in Australian artists, which led them to assist Roberts so greatly. Pinschof was attending the meetings of the Victorian Artists' Society during the time that Roberts was working on the painting. Roberts associated with writers of The Bulletin and nationalist poets. His large Australian subject paintings, celebrating the land and human toil, reveal his deep feelings for his country as do his writings.
In *Opening of the First Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia* (1901-1903) Roberts painted the Consul for Austria-Hungary among the diplomatic corps, in the left foreground and Madame Pinschoff with the group of ladies, in the centre (plate 54). Pinschoff was one of the earliest people to be depicted in the painting, *Table Talk* reporting on the progress of the picture noted, "Herr Pinschoff [sic]...has a decidedly military air." Roberts painted small oil sketches of the major figures and *Study of Herrn Consul Pinschoff* (1901) was in Pinschoff's collection (plate 55). After painting in all of the figures that he could in Australia, Roberts recuperated at Macedon before leaving for England to complete the central figures. Roberts revelled in the financial benefits and social contacts that followed from the commission. On the eve of his departure in 1903, the painting was hung in the Queen's Hall in Parliament House and Roberts was entertained at the Grand Hotel in Melbourne by art patrons, politicians and artists. A farewell dinner was also given for Roberts at 'Studley Hall.'

From London, after he had finished the painting, Roberts wrote to Prime Minister Deakin late in 1903 "I've had a very happy time these two years and for the first time no anxiety about money." Yet elsewhere, when the artist was working hard to complete the final stages of the canvas, he had written that he felt enslaved. This feeling by the artist is common when a work is commissioned, rather than simply purchased outright. 'The Big Picture' was displayed in London at the Royal Academy Exhibition of 1904 and presented to King Edward VII. Owned by the Royal family, the painting hung for many years at St James' Palace, London and in 1958 Queen Elisabeth loaned it permanently to the Australian Government. Roberts enthused to Deakin in 1904 "I'm very pleased at this kind of result of my long work, which has been my share in the beginning of the Commonwealth...I fancy artists will sympathise with the great disadvantages of such a subject." In the painting Roberts has captured the pageantry of the opening ceremony but the figures are stiff and the composition lacks unity; the outcome of having to produce faithful representations of so many personages. While the painting was an official success, it did not result in the career advancement that Roberts and his supporters had expected. Roberts' absorption in the painting over two years and his exposure to various painting styles in Europe, resulted in a loss of confidence in his work which lasted until about 1908. Thereafter Roberts painted in England with little recognition. The Pinschofs kept in touch with Roberts, in 1908 Elisabeth Pinschof and Miss Goode visited him at his studio in Kensington and Roberts executed a pastel portrait of Elisabeth. During World War I Roberts was a war artist. He did not return to Australia until 1919.
In 1903 Madame Wiedermann was elected an Honorary Member of the Victorian Artists' Society. She had provided musical programmes for Melbourne's artists and was a warm hostess. In the same year, Frederick McCubbin, then president of the V.A.S., wrote to Roberts in London "Pinschoff [sic] has become lay member of our council, good man to have amongst us." By November, Pinschoff had been elected a member of the financial committee. He attended the meetings regularly until August 1904 and his business acumen was of great benefit.

Pinschoff bought McCubbin's *On the way to Braemar* (1904) (unsighted) for £8-8-0, a scene at Macedon, near the guesthouse Braemar House. McCubbin was then living on the far side of Mount Macedon, in the family cottage which he named *Fontainebleau* after the forest where the Barbizon painters had lived and painted in the open air. At Macedon, McCubbin could commune with nature, painting *en plein air* and capturing the surrounding landscape in many intimate bush paintings. He was moving away from large, sentimental subject painting and the approach of Bastien Lepage, towards freer brush strokes and greater use of colour, rather than tone. McCubbin was also fascinated by the effect of the sun's light on the mountain. Pinschoff, long a resident at Mount Macedon, also loved the local landscape and this would have drawn him to this work. McCubbin's Macedon landscapes were soon recognized as the high point of the artist's late work. Pinschoff also owned two other landscapes by McCubbin. *Loch* (unsighted) was a present from Miss Goode, who had studied with McCubbin when they were students at the National Gallery School. She was a welcome visitor to the McCubbin home. "The Proff" was a great lover of Wagner, Schubert and Beethoven and shared this with the Pinschofs, Goode, Marshall-Hall and Roberts and Streeton. The genre painting *The Bakehouse* (unsighted), also owned by Pinschoff, was most probably one of the series of views of the McCubbin bakery in West Melbourne, produced in the 1880s. These scenes of the bakery resemble Munich School genre paintings (such as those shown in the International Exhibitions) in subject, in tonality and in attention to detail - Pinschoff, with his German background, would have appreciated this.

Pinschoff loaned works by McCubbin for inclusion in the artist's exhibitions. He was also one of the many subscribers for the publication of the important book *The Art of Frederick McCubbin* published in 1916 with a foreword by critic James MacDonald. Though the press gave McCubbin's work favourable reviews, only a discriminating minority bought his paintings. Sir George Verdon, banker, politician and President of the Trustees of The National Gallery of Victoria, Louis Abrahams and T. Fink were among the early patrons of McCubbin. State galleries had begun to buy his paintings in the 1890s. In 1906 the Felton Bequest purchased the large, nationalistic *The Pioneer* (1904) for the National Gallery of Victoria. From the beginning of the new century, prominent members of Melbourne society
commissioned portraits from McCubbin.\textsuperscript{52} He did not particularly enjoy painting portraits but, because of the poor state of patronage, was forced to use the income thus derived, to supplement his modest salary as Master of Drawing at the Gallery School, in order to provide for his large family.

Pinschof sold his company Pfaff, Pinschof \& Co in 1908.\textsuperscript{53} The development of the German naval programme, to rival England's supremacy, had contributed to a smear campaign against German goods.\textsuperscript{54} 1907 had seen the introduction of tariff regulations ending the open-door policy of British dependencies towards goods from non-Empire countries. The German share of the Australian market had been increasing, while the British, though overwhelmingly large, had been declining.\textsuperscript{55} It had constantly been emphasized, in the Australian Federal Parliament, that steps should be taken primarily against German competition. Yet at the same time, Australians recognized the fact that Germany imported wool, ores, and metals from Australia and Australia profited thereby.\textsuperscript{56} As international tensions grew, dark clouds cast a shadow over German-Australian relations in the years leading up to 1914. Pinschof had become a director of the Carlton Brewery by 1904 and in May 1907 was a key figure in the combining of Melbourne's six leading breweries into Carlton \& United Breweries, from which he cleverly emerged as the first Chairman of Directors.\textsuperscript{57} The company accounted for 50 per cent of the output of breweries in Victoria in 1907 and under his Chairmanship C.U.B. became the leading brewery in Australia.\textsuperscript{58} Considering the German brewing tradition, it is understandable that Germans contributed greatly to the development of brewing in Australia. Pinschof also continued as a director at The Herald. At this time Pinschof was at the height of his career financially and was living off his investments in the brewery and in The Herald.\textsuperscript{59} From 1907 to 1908 he bought works by Arthur Streeton, Walter Withers, Will Ashton and Emanuel Phillips Fox. However, he was not as wealthy as some patrons in Victoria and he continued to buy within his means.

Marshall-Hall and Walter Baldwin Spencer, Professor of Biology at the University of Melbourne and Trustee of the National Gallery of Victoria, had created an interest in Streeton's London work before the artist returned to Australia after seven years' absence. In March 1906, Marshall-Hall had seen some of Streeton's recent canvases at Herbert Streeton's home. Always seeking likely patrons, Marshall-Hall urged Spencer to take a look at a large tonal study of Trafalgar Square, feeling sure that the trustees would wish to buy it.\textsuperscript{60} Spencer's connection with the Gallery gave him official influence. He bought the painting for himself for £100\textsuperscript{61} which was more money than Pinschof would ever expend on a single painting, though \textit{The Centre of the Empire} (1901), as he called it, was Spencer's most costly art investment before
the twenties. Appreciation of Streeton's early work had also grown and patrons were willing to pay more for it therefore Streeton decided to take a collection to Melbourne where he arrived with only a few shillings, after the expense of the framing and his passage. Spencer bought seven small pictures as soon as they were unpacked, Streeton described to Roberts: "Spencer waited impatiently till the cases were opened & dived in and out among the dust like a feverish prospector for nuggets." Streton also gave him a work for his kindness and his welcome, while dinners were held for Streton by patrons Spencer and Dr Felix Meyer.

Streton spent the summer months with the Pinschosfs at their home 'Hohe Warte' at Mount Macedon. While staying there he presented the sketch 'Hohe Warte', Macedon (1907) to Mrs Pinschof as a token of friendship. The artist signed it "A. Streton TO HIS FRIEND Mrs PINSCHOF" (plate 56). At Mount Macedon the Pinschosfs provided a warm and hospitable family life for the unmarried Streton. Unlike Baldwin Spencer's wife, Madame Pinschof was deeply interested in painting and welcomed artists into their home. The relaxed atmosphere is felt in this painting showing the house and the garden and the Pinschov girls playing tennis and the Gemütlichkeit also comes through in Streton's letters "We have all our meals on the big verandah, and the lager here flows crisp amber from the tall bottles...It's very jolly here...and the music also." The Pinschosfs must have liked the picture as it presented Australia as an optimistic and sunny land, as do nearly all of Streton's images of Australia. It was probably also at this time that the Pinschosfs acquired Carmen in Swing (unsighted) a rare work as Streton produced few figure studies.

Under the Pinschof's generous patronage at Mount Macedon, Streton also produced one of his major works, his large oil Australia Felix (1907) (plate 57) painted from Mount Towrong gazing across the plain. McCubbin wrote to Roberts, then in London: "We had a wonderfully mild summer this year, lovely weather, and Smike did a big gem at Pinschoff's - lovely colour and distance." Australia Felix certainly is one of Streton's more impressive later paintings, however, when exhibited at Streton's Guildhall exhibition in April, it did not attract a buyer, probably due to its high price £ 262 10s. It did win a Third Class medal at the Old Salon, Paris in 1909 and was subsequently purchased by the Art Gallery of South Australia for 700 guineas in 1920, in Melbourne at Streton's first post-war show. Neither the Melbourne trustees nor the Felton Bequest Committee would have spent such an amount for a landscape by an Australian artist. At 'Hohe Warte' Streeton also received a commission from Pinschof's neighbour, W.L. Baillieu, financier and politician, for some scenes of his native Queenscliff.
During Streton's visit to Australia, Pinschhof acquired works which reflect developmental changes and show shifts of emphasis in style, period and location. In February 1907, two months prior to his Melbourne Exhibition, Streton wrote to Roberts from 'Hohe Warte' "...Pinschhof came to the Gallery 2 days ago, 10 minutes before closing time, & wrote his name on the back of 5 or 6...- are of the best and costly he hasn't even asked the price..." 73 Streton's comments suggest that Pinschhof's decisions were made remarkably quickly. Pinschhof would have been familiar with the paintings. They also show that Pinschhof was generous and that the artist considered that he chose the finest works. Pinschhof purchased five paintings in all, landscapes painted while Streton was travelling throughout Britain. Pinschhof also bought One Tree Hill (unsighted) a scene of land at Mount Macedon painted from 'Hohe Warte'. 74

The watercolour, Barges at Chelsea (unsighted), Pinschhof noted in his inventory, depicted "a view from Streton's studio". It would have reflected Streton's interest in rendering atmosphere and the mist on the river. Streton produced many Thames studies when he rented a studio-flat in 1905 on the river front at Chelsea, the artists' district where J.M.W. Turner and Whistler had lived. Streton had already seen Roberts' studies of the Thames which had been influenced by Whistler's Nocturnes: tonal painting with the emphasis in the rendering of atmosphere and light. 75 However Streton's Thames studies were painted before the motif, whereas Whistler's Nocturnes were painted by stored observation. 76

Streton sought out and interpreted a number of typically English landscape sites which had been painted by Phillip Wilson Steer, leading member of the New English Art Club, including Chepstowe. 77 The large oil on canvas Chepstowe Castle (1902) with its concentration on atmospheric colour and mood, reflects the influence of the New English Art Club aesthetic (plate 58). Streton was exalted by the sight of the sunlit castle on the cliff, across from the Wye River in Wales where he was staying; "The Castle's face is like a page of Milton" he had written to Roberts. 78 Proud to be part of the British Empire, Streton was also interested in the castle's history. 79 In his inventory, Pinschhof noted that Chepstowe Castle is considered equal to a Turner. 80 Streton had written to Roberts from Chepstowe, "I'm painting on Turner's Great Wyndcliff". Similarly Pinschhof wrote that his Rochester Castle (unsighted) might be taken for a Constable. 81 He also noted that the Trustees of the Art Gallery of New South Wales had wanted to purchase these two works after he had secured them. Ben More Kyle of Sutherland (unsighted), a scene in Scotland, Pinschhof felt, had "a real Streton atmosphere." 82 Turner had also worked there. Pinschhof's comment reveals
that he felt that Streton's work had a recognizable quality, regardless of where it was painted or what it depicted. McCubbin also felt this.83

Streton's large exhibition at the Hibernian Hall in April showed mainly English scenes that he had brought out with him: Chelsea riverside views, pastorals and a rare figure composition. Spencer had assisted Streton in finding a venue and he also lent Streton's impressive painting of Trafalgar Square, The Centre of the Empire.84 Pinschof loaned a painting as well.85 In a letter to Roberts, Streton enthusiastically listed his patrons who attended the private view "...my Exhibition which opened with a 'view' yesterday. Fink, Felix Meyer...& scores of others all the Pinschoffs..."86 Pinschof's purchases contributed substantially to the success of Streton's show. Pinschof expended £194.5s which represented a tenth of the total sales. Spencer had predicted that the pictures would not sell because the prices were too high and tried to persuade the artist to lower them; however, Streton stood firm.87 The exhibition netted £2000, a remarkable figure for Australia at the time.88 In Melbourne, Streton's Hibernian Hall exhibition started a fashion for buying Australian paintings and Hans Heysen, Fred McCubbin and Walter Withers, who exhibited later, all did well.89 It also stimulated a taste for paintings of European subjects by Australian artists, who followed, such as Will Ashton.90 For most patrons and artists, England was still 'home' and the majority of local collectors had also enjoyed travel on the Continent.

In July, Streton held a smaller show in Sydney which was not as successful financially91 probably because he did not have a loyal group of patrons in that city. He stayed for a few months in Sydney and painted views of the Harbour. These are mainly panels painted with bright colours and rapid and fluid brushwork. Making the most of the prosperous economy at the time and his appeal in Melbourne, Streton exhibited them in October at his Sydney Sunlight Exhibition in Collins Street which sold out in five days.92 Streton dedicated the exhibition to Marshall-Hall "in admiration of his Great Force, Genius and Humanity" and gave Pinschof Point Piper from Mosman (unsighted) as a present, in appreciation of his generosity and friendship.93

Streton also showed his gratitude for his sojourn at Hohe Warte, such a pleasant environment, by presenting to Pinschof the small oil sketch Leafy June (plate 59). On the reverse, the artist has written: "This is one of the very best/ small pictures I have painted/ and it goes to Carl Pinschof with the painter's/ best regards and as a slight/ appreciation of the Consul's firm friendship/ and great kindness and also that of Mme Pinschof/ Arthur Streton/ 14th Oct/ 1907." This is a scene with tall green
trees and lawn upon which sits an elegant young woman in white, enjoying the sun. It is painted rapidly and with confidence using broad, loose brushstrokes.

However Streton yearned for success in London and was not satisfied with the state of patronage in Australia. At the end of October, Streton wrote to Roberts from Sydney: "The Harbour and the long promontories look as glorious as ever, and I wish I could settle amongst it all. But I must get back. What is there for one here? I could paint a couple of years free and then be condemned to get half-a-dozen pupils at 2 or 3 guineas a quarter as all the other chaps here do; and then if I got to London again, I'd have to serve another apprenticeship before I got into the shows there."94

When buying works, Pinschof also listened to the recommendation of others. He bought the oil painting *Rain Cloud* (unsighted) by Walter Withers, at Withers' exhibition in 1907 on the "advice of A. Streton who considered it one of Withers' best,"95 Pinschof paid £21 for it. It was a good purchase as Withers was noted for his particular interest in the effects of changing atmospheric conditions. Another buy, the small oil sketch *Greensborough Lane* (c. 1903), a pastoral scene in the Melbourne rural suburb, Pinschof noted "Has fine Australian atmosphere" 96 (plate 60). The tall, lush gum trees and the bright sunlight are unmistakably Australian. As with all of Withers' landscapes, serenity permeates the countryside. Withers' choice of muted colours is very appealing in this work and the brushstrokes are loose and flowing. Pinschof bought this small panel for £6.

Withers' oeuvre has a great range and variety of style though his paintings are generally lower in tone than the high-keyed paintings of Streton and Roberts. He produced many views in Melbourne's rural suburbs. *Greensborough Lane* was probably painted after the artist had settled in a homestead and studio in Eltham in 1903. Pinschof would have bought these paintings because Withers' work was liked by a group of supporters and because Withers was a considerable force in the artistic community. In 1891, the critic Sidney Dickinson, recognizing a shared interest in *plein air* painting, had named Withers with Streton as a leader of 'the Heidelberg School'.97 Pinschof knew Withers from the Victorian Artists' Society where Withers had been on the council since 1894.98 He had won the inaugural Wynne prize for landscape in 1897, a feat that he repeated in 1900.99 A similar scene of settled countryside with cows, *Tranquil Winter* (1895) painted at Heidelberg, had been purchased by the National Gallery of Victoria in 1895 and was much admired.100 Withers was also a respected teacher, (he taught art to provide sufficient financial security for his family).101 He had studied at the Royal Academy and South Kensington Schools before coming to Australia in 1882, aged 28 and he trained at the
National Gallery School in Melbourne from 1884 to 1887. He then studied at the Académie Julian in Paris. Upon return he had painted at Eaglemont with Roberts and Streeton and in 1891 established the artists' colony at 'Charterisville' an old Heidelberg mansion. Withers paintings and small oil sketches had long been valued by patrons. Baldwin Spencer also owned work by Withers and considered that Withers' paintings, together with those of Streeton, were the most poetic renderings of the Australian bush. Melba, having a preference for unmistakably Australian landscapes, admired Withers' work as well.

In keeping with his policy of buying Australian artists' work, in July 1907 Pinschhof purchased *The Jetty at Normanville* (1903) by Will Ashton for £9-9-0 at the Guildhall in Melbourne. Pinschhof noted in his inventory "This artist is a native of South Australia and has done a lot of work in North of France & Brittany. He is at his best in sea-scapes". Ashton was fascinated by rippling water and his pictures are warm and luminous. He had trained under his father, artist James Ashton, in Adelaide and in 1899 was sent by his parents to study under Julius Olsson, one of the great sea painters, at the artists' colony in St Ives, Cornwall, a key centre of *plein air* painting. Here Ashton painted marine subjects rendered in free, vigorous impasto. At Ashton's exhibition, Pinschhof also bought *Moonrise: St Ives Harbor* (c. 1900) for which he paid £30 (plate 61). Moonrises had been particularly popular with landscape painters at St Ives and were an important subject with artists in the late 1880s and in the 90s, due largely to the influence of Whistler's nocturnes. Ashton then studied at the Académie Julian, painted on the Seine and in the streets of Paris and exhibited at the Royal Academy, London in 1904. At the end of 1905, he settled in Adelaide. Pinschhof's purchases were once again timely, Ashton would win the Wynne prize in 1908. The Guildhall show established Ashton's reputation as a painter of picturesque, European subjects. Henceforth Ashton would regularly tour Europe and then return to Australia and hold successful exhibitions.

When Melbourne artist Emanuel Phillips Fox returned to Australia to exhibit in 1908, Pinschhof bought another painting with a water theme: *By the Ferry* (1906-07) a small painting on panel, at his large exhibition at the Guildhall in March. He paid £10-10-0 for it. Pinschhof was keen to support this local artist of whom he would have known through Marshall-Hall, McCubbin and Theodore Fink. *By the Ferry* is a scene viewed across a dark expanse of river. The focus on the glistening water shows Fox's interest in capturing light effects. On the other side of the river, at the edge of a forest, is a sketchily depicted landing with two figures presented in the
manner of Fox's picturesque Venetian works. The painting may belong to a group of related works, all ferry scenes painted when Fox was living in Paris and exhibiting at the New Salon. On the other hand, Fox travelled widely and the work could have been painted elsewhere in Europe or Australia. The scene depicted appears to be a secluded area whereas in France boating scenes are typically in public places. At Fox's exhibition, Pinschof could choose from a wide range of works. The show comprised mainly landscapes as well as scenes of Venice, subject paintings and portraits. Baldwin Spencer also bought work on this occasion, while the National Gallery of Victoria purchased one of Fox's paintings of a woman in dappled sunlight. He was already represented in the National Gallery of Victoria and in other state galleries.

Fox had trained in Melbourne, at the National Gallery School from 1878 to 1886. Sponsored by family and friends, he departed for Paris where he studied at the Académie Julian and at the prestigious Ecole des Beaux-Arts. He then painted in plein air artists' communities in Brittany and Etaples and St Ives. On return in 1893, Fox and Tudor St George Tucker had established the Melbourne School of Art in Bourke Street, its summer outdoor school was held at 'Charterisville', Withers' former home. It was the most vital art school in Melbourne in the 90s. Fox had considerable influence on local painting, introducing some modified impressionist practices of the juste milieu. Though his work was highly regarded by collectors and critics, Fox's patronage in the 90s had been largely confined to portraits, commissioned by Melbourne professionals. In 1900 the Trustees of the National Gallery of Victoria had commissioned him to paint an Australian history painting and, under the terms of the Gillbee bequest, Fox was required to paint in England. Lack of sufficient patronage in Australia kept Fox in Europe. As well as his 1908 visit, he came out to Australia again in 1913 and held successful shows in Melbourne and Sydney.

In 1913 Pinschof bought Spanish Guitar Player (unsighted) by George Coates from Dora Meeson, his artist wife, who had brought some of their pictures out from London for exhibition in the capital cities. In his inventory, written in 1914, Pinschof valued it at £30. This painting is from Coates' 1911 to 1912 period when he had painted a series of Spanish dancers. In the choice of subject and the rich colour, they clearly show the influence of John Singer Sargent, doyen of the London art world. Pinschof noted in his inventory that Coates had won a Melbourne Gallery School travelling scholarship and had recently had success with his portraits. Pinschof also acquired Meeson's Queen's Wharf (unsighted), a watercolour painted before her departure for Europe in 1898. Moonlight (unsighted) by Meeson was a gift to Pinschof's mother. Pinschof already had subjects similar to these two in his
collection. Apart from three paintings by his cousin Mizi Pinschof, (who came to Australia in 1903), these are the only works that the Pinschofs owned by a female artist.\textsuperscript{123} Pinschof valued them at £5 each.

Coates had attended drawing classes at the National Gallery School from 1884 and had studied painting under Bernard Hall, from 1891 to 1896 with Ramsay and Meeson. Coates adhered to the Munich technique throughout his life.\textsuperscript{124} Pinschof would have known of Coates. It was at Coates' studio in Swanston Street, in the 90s, that members of the bohemian club, the Cannibal Club, had gathered. This club included Ernest Moffitt, artist, musician and secretary of the University Conservatorium, Hermann Kühr, the Hungarian horn player, the Lindsays and other artists and musicians. Melbourne journalists and collectors of art also attended these lively evenings.\textsuperscript{125} In Paris, Coates and Meeson had studied at the Académie Julian under J.P. Laurens and Benjamin Constant. They moved to England in 1900 and soon to Chelsea, where they were important members of the group of expatriate Australian artists, and exhibited at the Royal Academy and the Old Salon. Pinschof wanted to support Coates and Meeson, two Australian artists, and he took the opportunity to do so when Meeson was visiting Melbourne. Though Coates' work was admired, very few people purchased his paintings. The Bendigo Gallery was the only public gallery in Victoria that bought an example of his work.\textsuperscript{126} Meeson's paintings, on the other hand, sold well. This, she correctly believed, was because Australians prefer landscapes and because her works were lower in price.\textsuperscript{127} She was anxious that the Pinschofs should have a Coates in 'Studley Hall' and insisted on reducing the price of \textit{Spanish Guitar Player}.\textsuperscript{128} The Pinschofs had appreciated the vogue for all things Spanish. They already owned Roberts' \textit{By the Alhambra} (1883) which had been a gift from Miss Goode, and significantly, Elise Wiedermann's principal role was Carmen.\textsuperscript{129}
VIII Fully-Fledged Patron of Art

1 On 11 October 1899 Britain declared war on the South African republics of Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Germany’s new Kaiser Wilhelm II made public his sympathy with the Boers. There were anti-German demonstrations in Melbourne, Tampke and Doxford, 1990, pp. 155-156. Yet German-Australians performed German gymnastics and sang German songs in an event in East Melbourne on behalf of the Empire Fund in early 1900, Deutsch-Australische Post, 24 February 1900, quoted by Voigt, 1987, p. 69. In September 1900 Streten wrote to his Australian friend Frederick Delmer, tutor at Königsberg University “it’s a pity England has been hampered and tied down by the Transvaal. She ought to fight Germany today - and smash all her navy. In 20 years time it will be all too late. Germany aims at Expansion and a great navy, and therefore is to be our competitor for the supremacy of the sea.” in Galbally and Gray (eds), 1989, p. 84.

2 The German annexation of North East New Guinea in 1884 had triggered Australians’ fear of a German threat to the British Empire’s dominance in the Pacific and hence to Australia’s security. By 1900 Germany had replaced France as the main rival to Australian interests in the region, having acquired the Marshall Islands and Western Samoa, Tampke and Doxford, 1990, p. 156.


4 La Trobe Library Picture Collection index.


6 N. Graves B. Jefferson and Charles Carty Salmon were directors of the Australian Art Association Pty Ltd. “It was Carty Salmon and a small group with Jefferson who took the idea of Milligan, a man of big schemes and no capital, and gave the commission to do the painting of the 1st Parliament’s incorporation.” Carty Salmon was sometime Chairman of Committees in the Federal House of Representatives, age 40 and born in Victoria, Roberts’ descriptions of the people depicted in the Federal Picture, Tom Roberts Papers, vol. VII, A2481-4, Mitchell Library, Sydney. The contract was completed 4 September 1901 by the board of the Association in its office 395 Collins street, Croll, 1935, pp. 60 and 72. Melbourne as the financial centre of Australia was until 1927 the capital city. The Victorian Parliament was moved into a wing of the Exhibition Building and Federal Parliament took over Parliament House.

7 Final agreement September 1901, cited by Croll, 1935, p. 60.


11 Croll, 1935, p. 66.

12 ibid.

13 Jefferson, The Red Page of the Sydney Bulletin, c. March 1903, quoted by Croll, 1935, p. 61. The contract also specified that the painting was to be completed by 1 March 1903, Croll, p. 60.


16 Deakin had supported Pinschof’s call for Australia’s adoption of the Credit Foncier system. In parliament Deakin had attacked the O’Loghlen-Shiels Government: “It was left to people outside like Mr Pinschof to whom we are under a debt of gratitude for his exposition of the Credit Foncier ...[Government] proposals in that direction ...would have gone far to restore the private finances of the community, but as yet we have done nothing”, Victorian Parliamentary Debates, vol.70, 1892-1893, p. 2931, quoted by Middelmann, 1972, p. 13. Pinschof was a close friend of Theodore Fink, Chairman of the Herald. Fink had campaigned with Deakin during the first referendum and had been a member of the executive of the Australian Federation League, 'Federation', 2 October 1941, p. 4, Fink papers, Department of Education, University of Melbourne. As Consul for Austria-Hungary Pinschof was friends with politicians. Roberts had painted portraits of Sir Henry Parkes in 1892 and 1894 and developed a friendship with him. Roberts had written to Parkes congratulating him on his speech in favour of Federation and hoped that it would be the beginning of "something practical", Parkes Correspondence, Mitchell Library XXXIII, 341, cited by Spate, pp. 36 and 138, note 28 also Topliss, 1985, vol. 1, p. 125.


18 Pinschof was present at the Annual General Meeting of the Victorian Artists' Society 30 October 1902, Victorian Artists' Society Minute Book 1902-1908, La Trobe Library.


20 Roberts emphasized that he and his contemporaries were living at a time poised between a colonial past and a united future. He was aware of Australia's need for self-definition and felt responsible as an artist to record Australian life, Roberts' speech at the close of the inaugural exhibition of the Society of Artists, Sydney Morning Herald, 21 October 1895, p.3, quoted by Topliss, 1985, vol. 1, p. 19.

21 On the key published with the photogravure numbers 68 and 250 respectively. The key is reproduced in Topliss, 1985, vol. 1, p. 60.

22 Table Talk. 19 December 1901, pp. 16-17, clipping in Tom Roberts' Scrapbook, Mitchell Library, ML MSS 4586/IX.


24 Goode in Croll, 1935, p. 156.

112
25 The West Australian, 25 May 1903, Roberts' Scrapbook, Mitchell Library, p. 54, ML MSS 4586/IX.

26 Goode in Croll, Tom Roberts, p. 156.

27 Roberts to Deakin 17 November 1903 in Crawford, 1964, p. 163.

28 Roberts to Pring 6 November 1903 "I'm doing the last lap - against time and light and fog. Tuesday off the chain", Mitchell Library, MSS 1367/2, cited by Topliss, 1985, vol. 1, p.169.


30 From 1960 to 1980 the painting hung in Parliament House Canberra and since 1981 it has been on display in the High Court of Australia, Canberra, Topliss, 1985, vol. 1, cat. no. 371, p. 170. Roberts' oil sketch painted at the opening Sketch for the Opening of Federal Parliament, 1901 (1901) was purchased in 1920 by the National Library of Australia for 30 guineas from the artist's exhibition at the Athenaeum Gallery in Melbourne, Topliss, vol. 1, cat. no. 371a, p. 170.

31 Roberts to Deakin, February 1904, Crawford, 1964, pp. 166-167.


34 In his nineteen years in London Roberts only had eight pictures accepted at the Royal Academy, including 'The Big Picture', Topliss, 1985, vol. 1, p. 23. He fared little better with the selection committees of the other art societies. His main source of income derived from portraits of the English gentry which resemble those of the fashionable Royal Academy exhibitors. Roberts' wife Lillie encouraged him to persevere with his painting. The family was sustained to a large extent by Lillie who was a skilled carver of picture frames, Smith, 1971, p. 153 and Lillie Roberts letters, cited by Topliss, 1985, vol. 1, p. 23, note 102.


36 Wiedermann was elected an Honorary member 7 April 1903, Victorian Artists' Society Minute Book 1902-1908, p. 81, La Trobe Library.

37 Wiedermann provided a musical evening for the society on 2 April 1903 ibid.


41 *The Argus*, 22 April 1904. The Argus critic remarked "Mr McCubbin has attempted to do for Macedon and Woodend something of what the Frenchman did for the forests of Fontainebleau", quoted in Clark and Whitelaw, 1986, p. 149. Kathleen Mangan, McCubbin's daughter, discusses the house in her *Autumn Memories: A McCubbin Family Album*, 'The House in the Hills'.

42 McCubbin discusses the effect of the sunlight on the mountain in several letters to Roberts, McCubbin Papers, La Trobe Library.


44 Pinschof inventory 1914 and lists dividing the collection between Pinschof's daughters written by Arthur Streeton in 1934, kindly made available to me by Thomas Pinschof. *The Ford* (unsighted) was the other landscape by McCubbin that Pinschof owned, see Appendix.

45 McCubbin to Roberts 18 July 1892 "Miss Goode was out to see us on Sunday, and we were all very jolly." in Croll, 1935, p. 55.

46 Pinschof loaned *The Bakehouse* to the exhibition at the Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, *Paintings by the late Frederick McCubbin September 27- October 8 1921*, cat. no. 57, brought to my attention by Dr Ann Galbally. Theodore Fink, T. C. Lothian, Henry Laurie, Arthur and Clive Baillieu and James Dyer also lent works.

47 *The Art of Frederick McCubbin*, 1916, list of subscribers.

48 In 1904 *The Age* considered McCubbin's large exhibition at the Athenaeum "one of the most notable 'one man shows' to have been held in Melbourne", *The Age*, 22 April 1904, p. 8, cited by Galbally, 1981, p. 110. However the exhibition brought the artist no profit, McCubbin to Roberts 14 June 1904, Roberts Correspondence, vol. 2, Mitchell Library, quoted by Galbally, p. 97.


50 McCubbin's first work to be acquired by a public gallery was *Feeding Time*, purchased by the National Gallery of Victoria in 1894 and exchanged for *A Winter Evening* in 1900. The Art Gallery of Western Australia and The Art Gallery of New South Wales had bought works in 1896 and 1897, David Thomas, "Frederick McCubbin (1855-1917)", entry in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 10, 1986, pp. 242-243.

51 The trustees disputed the purchase but after John Mather was re-elected a trustee in 1906, *The Pioneer* was acquired - although at £175 less than the artist's original asking price (£525.0.0), Clark and Whitelaw, 1986, pp. 148-149.

A company called Pfaff, Pinschof Pty. Ltd. was formed in 1908 to take over Pfaff, Pinschof & Co. and Pinschof was not among the promoters, Government Register of Trading Companies, No. 4360, Archives Division, La Trobe Library, cited by Middelmann, 1972, pp. 5 and 6.

Voigt, 1987, pp. 99 and 100 also John A. Moses, "Deutschlandspolitik" in Australia from Kaiserreich to Third Reich: Problems of promoting Germany in Australia from Hirschfeld to von Luckner" in Ian Harmstorf and Peter Schwerdtfeger (eds.), The German Experience of Australia 1833 - 1938, University of South Australia, Adelaide, 1988, pp. 120-136; pp. 120-121.


O'Hara, p. 40.

Dr R. Middelmann to Ms Anne Mancini 25 February 1979.


Ibid. Spencer claimed that he convinced Streeton to call his study of Trafalgar Square The Centre of the Empire, Spencer to Alline Rowan née Spencer 20 January 1929, quoted by Mulvaney and Calaby, p. 463, note 18.

Ibid. Streeton had received a newspaper account of a sale of Australian pictures from a friend in Melbourne. Streeton's landscape Australian December (1887) which he had sold for £8 in 1887 had fetched £75, Moore, 1934, vol. I, pp. 27-28 and Streeton to Roberts 19 December 1906 in Galbally and Gray (eds.), 1989, p. 102.

Ibid. to Roberts 19 December 1906 op cit.

Ibid. p. 103

Alline Rowan née Spencer recalled that her mother did not share her husband's interest in art and that she disapproved of artists visiting their home, cited by Mulvaney and Calaby, 1985, p. 345.

Ibid. Streeton to Roberts 6 February 1907 in Galbally and Gray (eds), 1989, p. 103.

List of works from Pinschof's collection allocated to Carmen when Arthur Streeton was asked by Elisabeth Finley to divide her father's collection, provided by Thomas Pinschof.

Finley to Mancini 16 February 1979. Mount Towrong is South of the Pinschofs' property.

McCubbin to Roberts 26 April 1907 in Mackenzie, 1990, p. 249.


73 Streeton to Roberts 6 February 1907, Galbally and Gray (eds.), 1989, pp. 103-104. McCubbin had loaned Streeton one of his studios at the National Gallery School in which to keep his paintings, Streeton to Roberts 10 December 1906, p. 101.

74 In his inventory 1914 Pinschof states that he paid £26-5-0 for the watercolour Barges at Chelsea. A Catalogue of an Exhibition of Pictures by Arthur Streeton Prior to his return to Europe 20 April 1907 Hibernian Hall, Melbourne, cat. no. 38, watercolour, Battersea Barges £26-5-0.

75 On return from London in 1885 Roberts had brought home a number of his small Whistlerian tonal studies of the Thames. As with Whistler's Nocturnes interest in light and atmosphere is foremost, Roberts' paint is fluid, his colours are lucent and the compositions are simple. Roberts had been in London in May 1884 the time of Whistler's Exhibition of small panels Notes - Harmonies - Nocturnes and must have seen it, as it inspired the whole idea of The 9 By 5 Impression Exhibition in 1889. Roberts' Thames studies were displayed in a prominent place in the exhibition. Virginia Spate, 'Tom Roberts' M.A. thesis, University of Melbourne, 1962, p. 35.

76 William Orpen attests to Streeton's enthusiasm for painting on the site of the river "...'Smike' Streeton! I have known the boy for twenty years. I first met him in Chelsea...Often he had brought me out to paint the Thames at early dawn."Daily Express, London, 11 October 1923, quoted by Galbally, 1979, p. 55.

77 Galbally, 1979, p. 58, includes extract from letter Streeton to Roberts 27 December 1902 in which Streeton informs that he has been painting Steer's favourite subject and expresses his intention to compete with him.

78 Streeton to Roberts 7 August 1902, Galbally and Gray, (eds), 1989, p. 93.

79 "...Chepstowe Castle...stormed by Cromwell in its olden days...", Streeton to Fink New Year's Eve 1903, ibid. p. 96.

80 In his inventory in 1914 Pinschof wrote that he paid £52-10-0 for Chepstowe Castle. Exhibition of Pictures by Arthur Streeton Prior to his return to Europe 20 April 1907, Hibernian Hall, Melbourne, cat. no. 7 Chepstowe Castle £52-10-0, illustrated in catalogue.

81 Rochester, from Strood Hill, Exhibition of Pictures by Arthur Streeton Prior to his return to Europe 20 April 1907, Hibernian Hall, Melbourne, cat. no. 12

82 Pinschof inventory 1914 and ibid. cat. no. 8.

83 "...Smikes [sic] picture on the Thames...is not like his old work it is more subtle but has not got the old frankness of touch and yet it seems to me more Australian than English in feeling...", McCubbin to Roberts 10 August 1905, Roberts Correspondence, Mitchell Library MS Az 479, quoted by Galbally, 1981, p. 122.
Streeton to Roberts 21 April 1907, Galbally and Gray (eds.), 1989, p. 105 and Exhibition of Pictures by Arthur Streeton Prior to his return to Europe 20 April 1907, Hibernian Hall, Melbourne, cat. no. 1, illustrated.

ibid. cat. no. 59 Leafy June.


ibid.


ibid.

Smith, 1971, p. 162.


Streeton to Roberts 5 October 1907, Galbally and Gray (eds), 1989, p. 109.

Streeton’s Sydney Sunlight Exhibition, 1 - 5 October 1907, Bernard’s Gallery, Melbourne and Pinschof inventory 1914. Although Pinschof did not specify when Streeton gave him Point Piper from Mosman (undated and unsighted) he did note that the value (30 guineas) was based on the catalogue price. At the October exhibition Streeton’s panels sold for 30gs each.

Streeton to Roberts, October 1907, Croll (ed.), 1946, p. 90.

Pinschof inventory 1914.

ibid.


Victorian Artists’ Society Minute Books 1893-1895, 1902-1908, Withers was elected president in October 1904.


Table Talk, 20 September 1895, p. 6. Tranquil Winter (1895) was acquired on the advice of Bernard Hall and was later chosen by Julian Ashton for the large exhibition of Australian art at the Grafton Galleries, London where it was highly praised by critic R.A.M. Stevenson, Pall Mall Gazette, 4 April 1898, Clark and Whitelaw, 1986, pp. 187 and 251 and Smith (ed.), 1975, pp. 210-214.
Concern over financial security is apparent in all of the writings of Fanny Withers, the artist’s wife, Withers papers, La Trobe Library.


Spencer to Fanny Withers 15 October 1914, Withers papers, La Trobe Library, quoted by Humfrays, 1970, p. 52.

Dame Nellie Melba to Fanny Withers nd. (after 1918) ibid. p. 51.


Ashton received the Wynne prize in 1908 for Noon painted at Burnside, South Australia, Ashton, 1961, p. 28.

In 1906 the Art Gallery of South Australia had purchased Boulevard Montparnasse and the Art Gallery of New South Wales had bought A Winter’s Eve, Paris ibid. p. 26 and Moore, 1934, vol. II, p. 34.

Smith, 1971, p. 163.

Pinschof inventory and Exhibition of Pictures by Emanuel Phillips Fox, Guildhall, Melbourne, March, 1908, cat. no. 12 By the Ferry 10 guineas.

In a letter to Roberts of 1892 Marshall-Hall mentions that he has got to know and like Emanuel Phillips Fox, Croll (ed.), 1946, p. 61. Phil Fox the artist’s brother was the secretary of the Marshall-Hall Orchestra. In a letter to McCubbin dated 16 May 1903, E.P. Fox asked after the Pinschosfs, McCubbin papers, La TrobeLibrary, MS 8525 987/2, kindly brought to my attention by Dr Ruth Zubans. Theodore Fink had been in partnership with barrister P.D. Phillips, uncle of E.P. Fox, and Phil May in a letter to Fink mentions Fox’s progress in Paris, May to Fink 11 May 1889, Fink papers, Department of Education, University of Melbourne. Patron of art and music Dr Felix Meyer was married to Mary Nanson who had studied under Fox 1896 - 1901, Zubans, “The Early Works of Phillips Fox: France and Australia” in C.B. Christesen (ed.), The Gallery on Eastern Hill, Victorian Artists’ Society, Melbourne, 1970, pp. 53-72; p. 71, note 48.


In 1893 the National Gallery of Victoria had bought Fox's copy of Velasquez's Los Borrachos painted by Fox in 1891. In 1898 the National Gallery of New South Wales had purchased Adelaide (1895) a study of a child and in 1901 Autumn Showers and Lady in Black both painted in 1900 had been bought. The National Gallery of South Australia had purchased A Study (1897) in 1898 a portrait of Judith Nanson. Al Fresco was bought in 1908, McCulloch, 1977, p. 136 and Zubans, 1970, p. 72, note 77.


Drs Barrett and Springthorpe and Professor Nanson were among Fox's patrons in the 90s, Zubans, 1970, p. 63.

In 1886 William Gillbee, a prominent Melbourne surgeon, requested $1000 to the Trustees of the National Gallery of Victoria for a commission for an Australian history painting. By 1900 interest had accrued and the trustees commissioned two paintings, one by Fox The Landing of Captain Cook and the other by John Longstaff Arrival of Burke, Wills and King at Cooper's Crossing. Fox was paid £700, Report of the Trustees 1901-1903, ibid. p. 69 note 75 and Smith, 1971, p. 139.


Meezen wrote that observers have commented that Coates' The Spanish Dancer reminded them of Sargent's Carmencita. However she stressed that the only resemblance was the subject, Meezen Coates, 1937, pp. 69 and 233-234. Sargent's La Carmencita had been exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1891 and at the Société Nationale des Beaux Arts in 1892. It had been purchased by the Musée du Luxembourg in the same year, Leeds, Leeds Art Galleries, John Singer Sargent and the Edwardian Age, James Lomax and Richard Ormond, 1979, p. 51.

Pinchhof inventory 1914.

ibid.

Pinchhof inventory 1914, see Appendix. At the Victorian Artists' Society Council meeting 10 December 1903 Pinchhof proposed Miss Mizi Pinchhof, Victorian Artists' Society Minute Book 1902-1908, p. 116.


126 The Bendigo Art Gallery purchased Coates’ Miss Jessica Srubelle a portrait of the American singer which the artist had exhibited at the Salon in 1910, Meson Coates, 1937, pp. 35 and 78.

127 Meson Coates, 1937, p. 78.

128 Pinschof inventory 1914.

CHAPTER IX

The War Years

In June 1914, Pinschof acquired Streiton's *Grand Canal, Midday Venice* (unsighted) for £31 at Streiton's exhibition of British and Venetian works, at the Victorian Artists' Society Gallery.1 Streiton had returned to Australia in March of that year, primarily to exhibit. The growth of Streiton's overseas reputation was monitored in Australia and the artist had sent out works for exhibition in 1909, 1910 and in 1912.2 Pinschof did not purchase anything from these shows, he tended to buy work from the artist as an extension of their friendship. *Grand Canal, Midday Venice* is one of a large number of works painted when Streiton and his wife Norah Clench, a professional violinist, had honeymooned in the romantic seaport in the spring and autumn of 1908. Streiton felt Venice to be a "fascinating old city".3 His Venetian paintings are in the grand manner of Turner, with dramatic use of light. The new richness of colour and added vigour of brushwork show the influence of John Singer Sargent, founding member of the New English Art Club and then the most distinguished painter in England. According to Pinschof's inventory, McCubbin felt *Grand Canal, Midday Venice* to be one of the superior paintings in Streiton's show. Professor Spencer also thought it a Streiton at his very best and tried to purchase it, asking Pinschof to name a price.4 At Streiton's exhibition, W.L. Baillieu, on the board of directors with Pinschof at The Herald and at Carlton & United, bought *Doge's Palace*.5 The National Gallery of Victoria and the Art Gallery of New South Wales purchased *Corfe Castle* (1909) and *Malham Cove* (1910) respectively.6 These two large oils of English landscape were painted at a time when Streiton's work had an artificial quality and his compositions were uninteresting.7 *Chepstow Castle* (1902), bought by Pinschof seven years earlier, is far superior.

Streiton's Turneresque landscapes of England and France were popular with his wife Norah's wealthy friends in England and Canada; and this eased his financial situation.8 Streiton's Melbourne shows were successful and the sales provided him with enough money to see him and his family through the war years in England.9 In 1914, Streiton was a guest of the Pinschos at 'Studley Hall'; and attended dinner parties which included leading members of Melbourne's business, political, and academic circles.10 It was probably in the first half of 1914, that Pinschof assisted the painter by investing Streiton's money in shares "to the best possible advantage." 11 Having this financial security would have been particularly important to Streeton,
considering the vagaries of artistic life. Streeton gave Pinschof *Carisbrooke* (unsighted) a large work\(^{12}\) that he produced on the Isle of Wight, where Turner had once worked. Pinschof noted in his inventory, that the art patron, Dr O'Hara considered it one of the best works in Streeton's exhibition.\(^{13}\)

During the war, Streeton gave Pinschof the large oil *The Top of the Gorge: Mount Buffalo* (1914) (unsighted) for a Christmas present in 1914.\(^{14}\) There is thus no evidence that Streeton ostracized the Pinschofs because of their German origins. This work was painted during Streeton's stay in Australia, when he executed a number of studies of Mount Buffalo. On this visit, Spencer again bought works by Streeton, encouraged others to buy and welcomed him to stay at his home, where he organized functions on the artist's behalf.\(^{15}\) Spencer had offered to be Streeton's financial manager and agent in Australia, after Streeton's brother suffered a nervous breakdown in 1910.\(^{16}\) Unfortunately Streeton was later hurt by Spencer's severe criticism of his work in 1918. He then considered Spencer to be an amateur and resented his dogmatic character.\(^{17}\) Streeton's opinion was a slight exaggeration, considering that Spencer had been collecting art since 1889 and had a fine home in which to accommodate his vast collection.\(^{18}\) Spencer had also studied art and he illustrated his own work and made films, so he certainly had an appreciation for art.\(^{19}\) Pinschof does not appear to have criticized artists' work: he left artistic matters up to the artist, in keeping with the Romantic idea of artistic genius. Significantly Pinschof kept his collection intact and did not sell it at a profit, as Spencer did in 1919.\(^{20}\)

When Britain declared war on Germany on 4 August 1914, Australia, a member of the British Empire, was also at war. Australia was a key objective in Germany's strategic and military planning in the Western Pacific region and if the British navy were defeated, Australia would be defenceless. German-Australians immediately declared their loyalty to the British crown and Australian Commonwealth. Though Pinschof and his wife were naturalized British subjects of Austrian origin, the Australian government decided not to accept the naturalization process, as evidence of Australian citizenship, pointing out that the foreign governments ignored it and treated all their overseas countrymen as citizens.\(^{21}\) The War Precautions Act required the registration of aliens and enabled the Commonwealth Government to control their conduct, to suspend all trading with the enemy and do virtually whatever it believed necessary in the name of defence.\(^{22}\) Each enemy subject was required to report to the military authorities, or to the local police, where he had to swear an oath not to conspire against the Empire.\(^{23}\) Lurid newspaper illustrations turned the German into the 'Hun', an evil and immoral figure to be feared and detested. The Lutheran and the German Catholic churches were under surveillance.\(^{24}\) Because of public pressure, the
German newspapers ceased publication. Prime Minister Billy Hughes demanded that every vestige of Deutschtum, cultural and commercial, be eradicated from Australian soil.

Pinschof was involved in raising money for the Patriotic Fund by organizing a musical programme, a joint effort of the Conservatorium and the Victorian Artists' Society. Madame Pinschof similarly arranged a concert in aid of the Belgian Relief Fund. However, the Intelligence Section of the Military, together with the police, had Pinschof under scrutiny from the beginning of the war and by November 1914 'Studley Hall' had been searched by the police. Pinschof's offer of the family home, 'Studley Hall', to the defence authorities, for convalescent soldiers, in May 1915, was not taken up. The public hysteria forced Pinschof to surrender his directorships at the beginning of 1916. In his letter accepting Pinschof's resignation as Director, The Manager of Carlton & United wrote of the board's "high appreciation of the valued services rendered" by Pinschof. He also expressed that his colleagues felt that Pinschof's action was dictated by a deep sense of loyalty to the company's interests, and entailed a personal sacrifice which, under other circumstances, they could not have permitted. After receiving Pinschof's resignation as a director, the Chairman of The Herald & Weekly Times, Theodore Fink stated:

Like all those whose pleasure and privilege it was to know you we are fully aware of your loyalty and true allegiance to the country of your adoption to which, in many ways you have rendered such great service. Your services to the Herald & Weekly Times Ltd., at all times so freely given, have been of the highest value and much of the success of the company has been due to your wise counsel and great business ability...

Such personal declarations, although appreciated, could not have compensated for the feeling of rejection and financial stress which Pinschof must have felt, robbed of all external signs of success as a businessman. These changed financial circumstances, forced the Pinschofs to move out of 'Studley Hall' in December 1916 and into their smaller home in The Avenue, Windsor. Pinschof lived off his shares. "When his fortunes suffered eclipse, he bore his reverses with dignity" recalled Fink. In 1916 Streeton wrote to Spencer from London "I feel so sorry for poor old Pinschof - he has been a very good friend..."  

The Graphic of Australia, one of the many newspapers which enthusiastically hounded Germans, insisted to know "Ex Austrian Consuls Meyer and Pinschof: why are they not interned?" The vociferous writer continued "Pinschof has been forced to give up shares in various companies and it's time he's forced to give up a few more things!" Such harassment was symptomatic of the need many Australians felt to
make the war more real and immediate in their own lives and frustrations and tensions had to be externalised. Prominent members of the German-speaking community, such as Pinschof, were particularly susceptible to vilification and a number lost their jobs, regardless of the fact that many had sons fighting for the British Empire. By February 1918 in a letter to the Department of Defence, The Victorian Anti-German League demanded that Pinschof be interned. Of course nothing was found against him, by the Intelligence Section of the military, that could be regarded as a sign of disloyalty; however, he was ordered to report to the police once a week. Testimony to his goodwill and loyalty to the country which he had made his home, was given by the Minister of Defence.

The census of 1911 reveals that Australia's total population was 4.5 million of which 96 per cent was British. Germans, the second largest group of Europeans, accounted for less than two per cent. During the war 3,986 Germans were interned, sixty one of whom were naturalized German-Australians. The number of Austro-Hungarians interned represented more than a third of the Austro-Hungarian population in Australia. Pinschof's fate was not as bad as that of his friend Eduard Scharf. As early as September 1914, the status of Scharf, as teacher of pianoforte at the University Conservatorium, and Mr Walter von Dechent, lecturer in German in the language department, was challenged by the University Council. In 1915, the University conformed to popular opinion and these two harmless, German members of staff were not reappointed. Eduard Scharf had been a concert pianist in Europe before arriving in Melbourne in the 1890s. He married one his students, Olive Huggard. The Scharfs belonged to Melbourne's artistic and musical circles. Scharf had not become a naturalized British subject and was interned and his possessions were confiscated, including a few McCubbin paintings which unfortunately have not been traced. The years of internment broke his spirit and he died soon after the war.

Wiedermann also suffered anti-German prejudice. Melba, delayed in Australia by the wartime travel restrictions, offered tuition at the Albert Street Conservatorium, then under the direction of Englishman Fritz Hart, graduate of the Royal College of Music, London. Melba championed British music and branded the rival University Conservatorium as pro-German because of the German sounding names on the staff. In the press and in the public at large, arguments raged for and against the retention of German music and language. By February 1916, *The Graphic of Australia* was demanding the purging of Wiedermann and Goll from the university: "Madame Wiedermann and Goll must go!" (Edward Goll was a Czech pianoforte teacher). Despite this harassment, Wiedermann continued to teach at the University.
Pinschof's two older daughters had married before the war, however, Louise experienced fully the hysteria which the war had created in Australia. Even her singing in a military hospital was regarded with suspicion. Following some unpleasant incidents, even after the war, she left Australia, determined never to return. Louise joined her sister Carmen in Chicago and they sang opera professionally, under the name Pascova. After World War I, 4,620 German-Australians left Australia of their own free will.

Anti-Germanism persisted well beyond the war years. In 1919, the Federal Immigration Act of 1901 was amended to restrict the entry of "any person who, in the opinion of an immigration officer, was of German, Austro-German, Bulgarian or Hungarian parentage or nationality or was a Turk of Ottoman race (sic)." The ban on German immigration to Australia was not lifted until the end of 1925. German churches, clubs and newspapers started to come to life again in the early twenties and in Melbourne, the German Consulate General reopened in 1924 after trade restrictions had been revoked.

Melbourne in the 1920s was extraordinarily colonial, multi-cultural only in so far as it contained a few competing cultural interests: the residually German Liedertafel, the Alliance Française and the newly-established British Music Society. With the war, German symphonic music, already weakening in appeal, was felt to be unpalatable and Melburnians looked to Debussy and Ravel for their classical music. Germany and Austria were in no position to influence anyone. In Germany and Austria the Emperors had been overthrown and republics established. Germany lost areas and her colonies, and Austria lost all her empire and was separated from Hungary, who also lost territory. Germany and Austria had been compelled to disarm and make massive reparation payments.

Tom Roberts returned to Australia in 1919, for a year, and he and Pinschof renewed their friendship. He held a successful exhibition of English, Italian and Australian work in Melbourne. Artists, friends and admirers of his work enthusiastically helped to support the returned veteran painter. The National Gallery of Victoria acknowledged Roberts as an artist for the first time, by purchasing Penelope (1919), a mediocre portrait of an English lady, painted in London, hardly indicative of his talent. Streeton also visited Australia for a protracted period from 1919 to 1922. Perhaps this is when Pinschof acquired his watercolour Ruins, Peronne (1918) (unsighted), painted when Streeton was an official war artist, working in the devastated town of Peronne, near the Somme. Streeton made numerous drawings and paintings of the ruined buildings, working quickly with excitement. In 1918, the
Australians had pushed the Germans right through the fortress town and the Germans retreated back to the Hindenburg line. The battle helped to establish Australia's proud equality in the British Commonwealth of Nations. Pinschof's possession of such a subject shows his true loyalty to Australia. He also generously loaned a painting for inclusion in Streeton's first post-war exhibition which was held in 1920 at the Victorian Artists' Society Gallery.

The Great War brought an epoch to an end, the palmy days of 'Studley Hall' were no more. However, visiting Australian and international singers, including Melba, Florence Austral, Evelyn Scotney and Amelita Galli-Curci, visited the Pinschofs at their home in The Avenue Windsor. More than anything that had occurred before, World War I created Australia's distinct national identity. Australians were tremendously proud of the Anzacs and their peculiarly Australian characteristics. The Pinschofs lived long enough to witness Streeton and Melba, whom they had helped so much, become Australian cultural icons. Roberts and Streeton both settled in Australia. Streeton painted areas of his native landscape that appealed enormously to the nationalistic preferences of Australians of the 1920s and 1930s and his work fetched high prices. Streeton also had influence as a newspaper critic and writer. Roberts painted Australian countryside to which the public could relate. His shows were moderately successful. The school of Australian landscape painting, which Streeton and Roberts had inspired so greatly, survived well into the twentieth century. The Australian public was largely ignorant of and hostile to developments in European and Australian modernist painting.

Pinschof's daughter Elisabeth reflected: "I certainly do remember the disgraceful behaviour of the mob on many occasions and both my parents would have lived longer if they had not experienced the attitude of the times." The Pinschofs suffered enormous emotional strain on account of the war. Wiedermann died from ill health in 1922 aged 70. Fitting obituaries appeared in The Argus and The Australian Musical News. Later Pinschof continued to write on financial subjects and his articles were published in Stead's Review and The New York Herald. In 1926, in frail health, he embarked on his first trip back to Europe since coming to Melbourne in 1880. A well-attended reception in the city before he left, attested to the continuance of the friendship of a large circle of representative men and women. Sadly he never reached Europe, Pinschof died in hospital in Cape Town aged 71. According to his wish, he was buried next to his wife, at the Boroondara cemetery, Lutheran Section. The Rev Dr. Charles Strong, Melbourne's great social reformer, founder of the Australian Church and admirer of Pinschof, officiated at the ceremony.
IX The War Years

1 Pinschof inventory 1914 and Catalogue of Mr Streeton’s Pictures, East Melbourne, June 1914, cat. no. 106, Midday Venice £31.


4 Pinschof inventory 1914.

5 Streeton to Nora Streeton 7 June 1914 in Galbally and Gray (eds.), 1989, p. 133 and notes 5 and 6.

6 ibid.

7 Both illustrated in The Art of Arthur Streeton, 1919, Art in Australia, special number, plates xxiv and xxxviii. Corfe Castle is also reproduced in Galbally, 1979, illustration 22.


9 Streeton to Nora Streeton 7 June 1914 and Streeton to Delmer 26 June 1916 ibid. pp. 133 and 137.

10 Among the guests were Mr and Mrs Arthur Bailleul, Sir Frank and Lady Madden, Professor Masson, Mayor and Mayoress Hennessy, the Commonwealth Treasurer Sir John Forrest and the Austrian Consul General Dr Freyersteiber, seating arrangements for dinner party at ‘Studley Hall’ early in 1914, from Pinschof’s book of memoranda held by Dr Middelmann, photocopy made available to me by Ms Anne Mancini.

11 Streeton to Spencer 9 October 1916 and Streeton to Delmer 26 June 1916, Galbally and Gray (eds.), 1989, pp. 139 and 137.

12 Pinschof inventory 1914.

13 Pinschof inventory 1914 and Catalogue of Mr Streeton’s Pictures, East Melbourne, June 1914, cat. no. 72, Carisbrooke £42. William Moore mentions Dr Henry O’Hara as being in the possession of Withers’ The Valley of the Yarra (c. 1890), Moore, 1934, vol. I, p. 75.

14 Pinschof inventory 1914.

15 Streeton to Nora Streeton 7 June 1914, Galbally and Gray (eds.), 1989, p. 133 and introduction, chapter 9, p. 131


18 "The Private View of the Impressionist Exhibition", Table Talk, 23 August 1889, p. 4.


20 If one compares Pinschol's inventory, written in 1914, with Streton's lists, written in 1934 when Elisabeth asked him to divide the collection amongst Pinschol's daughters, nearly all of the works are still there. See Appendix. Spencer amassed the largest private collection of works by Streton until 1919 when he auctioned most of his collection: The Baldwin Spencer Collection of Australian Pictures and Works of Art, Fine Art Society's Galleries, Melbourne, May 1919, a sale of over 200 works including 32 Streton's. Spencer's sale of fourteen oils and twelve watercolours by Streton is said to have realized a profit of £1748 on an initial outlay of £603, Spencer's annotated catalogue of the sale (Rowan Collection), cited by Mulvaney and Calaby, 1985, p. 464, note 29 and Moore, 1934, vol. II, p. 31. Streton would have liked Spencer to have founded a private gallery in Melbourne and had suggested the idea to him, Streton to Spencer mid 1913, Galbally and Gray (eds.), 1989, p. 126.


22 ibid. p. 18.

23 ibid. p. 20.


26 Victorian Artists' Society Minute Book 1909-1917, 18 August 1914.

27 List of members of the organizing committee for Mademoiselle Antonia Dolores concert in aid of the Belgian Relief Fund September 1914, Pinschol's book of memoranda, photocopy made available by Ms Anne Mancini.


32 Middelmann, 1972, p. 26 and Middelmann to Mancini 25 February 1979, made available by Ms. Mancini. The property was auctioned in 1916. Two years later it was sold in two lots by the London Bank of Australia. The lot on which the house stood was bought by the Crown. After WWI the house was purchased by T.M. Burke who offered it to Archbishop Mannix and by him it was offered to Xavier College. It opened as Xavier Preparatory School in 1922 and in 1926 the name was changed to Burke Hall, Keeney, 1966, p. 140. It is now the administration block for Xavier Preparatory School. In November 1917 'Hohe Warte' was sold and with the attack on German culture the name was changed to 'Camelot'. 'Camelot' was run as a guesthouse until it unfortunately burnt down in the mid 1930s, Middelmann, 1972, p. 7. Today the gardener's cottage still stands.


34 Streiton to Spencer 9 October 1916 in Galbally and Gray (eds), 1989, p. 139.

35 The Graphic of Australia. 17 March 1916, p. 3. For this reference the author is grateful to Ms Anne Mancini. The newspaper, held only by the La Trobe Library, has recently been withdrawn from access.

36 ibid.

37 Department of Defence, document D512/1/291 quotes letter from The Victorian Anti-German League to the Department of Defence, February 1918, Australian Archives, Melbourne, copy made available to the author by Thomas Pinschof.

38 Department of Defence document 14/3/436 R.E. Williams, Brigadier General, Commandant 3rd Military District to The Secretary, Department of Defence, 11 April 1918 and Williams to C.L. Pinschof July 1918, Australian Archives, Brighton, copies provided by Thomas Pinschof.


41 Augustin Lodewyckx, Die Deutschen in Australien, Stuttgart, 1932, p. 236.

42 Norst and McBride, 1988, p. 86.


44 ibid. p. 138.

45 Scharf had arrived in Melbourne with a concert group from Europe in 1892, Orchard, 1952, p. 66.

46 Mackenzie, 1990, p. 103.
Miss Olive Huggard had given piano solos at the musical evenings at the Pinschof home and Scharf had also been amongst the guests, Table Talk, 5 November 1897, p. 11. McCubbin was a friend of the Scharf family and had painted Olive Scharf's portrait Portrait of Mrs Scharf (1900), The Art of Frederick McCubbin, 1916, plate xi and Mackenzie, 1990, plate 27.


ibid.


The Graphic of Australia, 4 February 1916, p. 2.

The University Conservatorium of Music Prospectus 1917, Ford & Son, Melbourne, 1917, p. 4, Music Library, University of Melbourne.

Constable Sickerdick to Major Hogan 1 October 1917, Department of Defence file 14/194/3/295, Australian Archives, Melbourne, copy made available to the author by Thomas Pinschof.


Finley interview with Mancini 1979 and Barbara and Findlay Mackenzie, Singers of Australia from Melba to Sutherland, Lansdowne, Melbourne, 1967, pp. 13 and 16, note 2.


Norst and McBride, 1988, p. 89.

Voigt, 1987, p. 106.

ibid. pp. 105-106.

The Melbourne branch of the British Music Society formed in 1921. Louise Hanson-Dyer, daughter of L.L. Smith, was Secretary. The Vice Presidents represented the musical forces of the city: Fritz Hart of the Melba Conservatorium, Professor Laver of the University Conservatorium and Alberto Zelman Junior, founder and conductor of the amateur Melbourne Symphony Orchestra. The Society aimed to perform British music, to encourage Australian composers and to foster international music. Louise Hanson-Dyer (of French descent) was President of Honour for life of the Alliance Française. Productions of the Alliance supported by the French Consul, were events in the cultural life of Melbourne in the interwar years, Davidson, 1988, pp. 244 and 247.

Hanson-Dyer promoted Debussy and Ravel in Melbourne ibid. p. 250.

Goode in Croll, 1935, p. 163.

ibid. pp. 158 and 163.

Basil Burdett (compiler), The Felton Bequests: An Historical Record, 1903-1904, Felton Bequests Committee, Melbourne, 1934, cited by Galbally, The Collections of the National Gallery of Victoria, p.36.
Streeton's appointment as an official Australian war artist began in May 1918. Baldwin Spencer and Bertram MacKennis had suggested to the Australian High Commission (the body responsible for operating the official war art scheme) that Streeton should be asked to produce paintings of the battlefields, where Australians had fought; and Streeton wrote many letters to the High Commission and to The Argus calling for a first rate, war art scheme. His tour of duty was in France, Australian War Memorial, Streeton in France 1918, Anne Gray, 1982 and Galbally and Gray (eds.), 1989, p. 133. Streeton to Nora Streeton 26 October 1918, Galbally and Gray (eds.), p. 153. The commissioning of war artists saw the most ambitious exercise in state patronage of art in Australia until then.


Catalogue of the Exhibition of Mr Streeton's Pictures, Victorian Artists' Society Gallery, East Melbourne, March, 1920, cat. no. 8 Bare Walls lent by Carl Pinschof Esq.

Middelmann, 1972, p. 27.


Lionel Lindsay Addled Art, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1942. The public reaction to the work of expatriate artists Rupert Bunny and John Peter Russell.

Finley to Mancini 16 February 1979.


Middelmann, 1972, p. 27.


Middelmann, loc. cit. Though the Pinschofs were married in the Catholic church, there is no evidence of their religious affiliation.
CONCLUSION

Pinschof recognized that the attainment of a cultured society is largely dependent on the commercial prosperity of a nation and he contributed greatly to getting Australia on a firm financial basis. Pinschof's example shows that the individual must achieve a degree of wealth and establish himself, in order to fully appreciate and support the arts.

The International Exhibitions, in which Pinschof was involved, provided an opportunity for patrons, critics and artists to have contact with mainstream European art and design and to revise their own taste and standards of excellence. The collections sent out from Germany were skilfully controlled and marketed and private collectors and public galleries made many purchases. However, the majority of collectors were Anglo-Saxons who bought English landscapes for nationalistic reasons. Nevertheless the most popular school after the English was the German. The public was largely uneducated, thus German genre paintings, with easily understood moralistic themes, were particularly favoured. In the affluent years of the 1880s, imported foreign works of art and an influx of European artists made Melbourne's art scene more cosmopolitan. Apart from a little parochial suspicion of foreign methods, on the whole, German art was respected.

Under the Munich-trained George Frederick Folingsby, Master of the National Gallery Art School, a national school of painting grew, sponsored by the government and private citizens. Folingsby's students painted the life of the bush pioneer, in the style of German national history painting. The Student Exhibitions and the Travelling Scholarship, introduced by Folingsby, were enormously important in developing in the public an appreciation of local artists and Australian subject painting.

It was in the field of music that the German contribution was more obvious. Carl Pinschof was an active committee member of the Melbourne Liedertafel. The Liedertafels cultivated spirited part-singing amongst men and also promoted grand music, mostly of the German school. Madame Wiedermann was a leading soloist with Melbourne's Liedertafels. The Liedertafel events, attended by the middle class, were an important part of Victoria's cultural, social and business life. Madame Wiedermann, through her early support of Nellie Armstrong, helped to create a successful musical career that became an inspiration to many ambitious Australians.
The music festival of the Centennial Exhibition exposed audiences to music of the foreign schools and fostered great enthusiasm for Wagner. Australians bought thousands of German pianos while published works on music, from the German publishing houses, inundated the market, making musical culture accessible to most Australians. The music festival stimulated the demand for orchestral permanency and sound musical training in Australia.

The Pinschofs were among the leading supporters of Marshall-Hall, the first Ormond Professor of Music and a leading and controversial figure in the cultural life of the period. Marshall-Hall was a musician of world standard and carried out many voluntary tasks. Through their financial backing and their administration, the Pinschofs helped to establish and to sustain the Marshall-Hall Orchestra. Madame Wiedermann starred at the Marshall-Hall concerts and constantly stressed the need for a permanent, salaried orchestra in Melbourne. The Marshall-Hall concerts cultivated an appreciation of symphonic music (particularly German) in the Melbourne public and they were especially inspiring for Melbourne's artists.

The University Conservatorium was based on German models and many of the staff were of German origin and training. The Conservatorium was privately funded and Pinschof's careful financial management kept it afloat. Wiedermann and Marshall-Hall did more than any other two individuals to mould two generations of musical thought in Melbourne. They also trained a great number of singers and musicians who afterwards made niches for themselves throughout the world.

With the establishment of the Conservatorium, the interplay between artists and musicians grew stronger. Melbourne's bohemian clubs and the Smoke Night of the Victorian Artists' Society fostered this interplay and, when the Conservatorium moved to the Victorian Artists' Society Building, the interchange developed even further. Marshall-Hall sought likely patrons for promising artists. Before World War I, the Victorian Artists' Society was the thriving centre of Australian art and music. Many examples of intricate relationships existed, the network of artists and musicians extended to expatriate Australians in Europe. No contact was ever ignored. Wagner's concept of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* in which all the arts fuse, was adopted by Roberts in paintings of the late 90s, such as *Elisabeth and Carmen Pinschof*. The idea of the total work of art is also evident in the collaborative efforts between musicians and artists and in the sharing of themes in poetry and painting, as in Marshall-Hall's *Hymn to Sydney*. Their mutual appreciation of music was an integral part of their lives and a defence against the Philistines by whom they felt surrounded. The artists and musicians, together with the Pinschofs, were closely involved with each other, their
intellectual and emotional lives overlapping and interweaving throughout these vitally formative years of the nineties, also following Federation and during the war years. The Pinschofs, together with the artists and Marshall-Hall, shared a deep understanding of music and a profound love of Australia.

The Pinschofs made perceptive comments on art and when buying works, they also showed a willingness to heed the advice of others. Pinschof acquired contemporary art. Works were purchased outright and also commissioned. In his career, Pinschof was forward looking and similarly, in his buying of art, he demonstrated courage. He supported Australian artists at a time when there was little interest in work by local artists. His collection comprised representative examples as well as some bold and distinguished purchases: Mackennal's masterpiece, the full-size bronze Circe and Streeton's early radical and unique interpretations of Coogee and Sydney Harbour. A country needs private patrons of art. They can buy works which might otherwise be lost through inadequate funding and they can also risk to purchase works which are considered too advanced for established taste. Works from private collections often find their way into public galleries where they can be appreciated by everyone. The Pinschofs' reasons for buying works of art are multifaceted. They purchased art for their own enjoyment and they also shared it with others. The Pinschofs often bought paintings to give each other as gifts. The artists, whom they chose to support, they knew and admired as friends. From Pinschof's inventory it is clear that many of the works were gifts from artists, given to celebrate their close friendship or as tokens of gratitude, many are personally inscribed. The scenes of Lower Austria and Germany and portraits of Emperor Franz Josef and Empress Elisabeth (in most cases given as gifts) were held partly because of sentimental attachment and partly because their home also served as the Austro-Hungarian Consulate. The most striking point about the collection is the emphasis on either Australian subjects or Australian artists. From 1891, apart from gifts and some purchases from the Hungarian artist Paszthory, acquired to assist him while he was visiting, the Pinschofs bought works entirely by Australian artists. Pinschof's increased prominence as a patron of Australian art coincided with his intensified feelings for his country, his becoming naturalized; and his relative affluence from investments in the brewery and The Herald. Pinschof had a genuine enthusiasm for plein air painting, acquiring scenes of Melbourne and New South Wales environs, especially water scenes. At the time it was felt that landscape painting was a form of nationalism; the best way to express the true Australia. In supporting Australia's younger artists, the Pinschofs felt confident that they were making a contribution to the development of an Australian culture.
Under the Pinschofs' generous patronage, Roberts and Streeton produced some of their best work, for instance Elisabeth and Carmen Pinschof and Australia Felix. Pinschof also helped to organize the production of works: Carl Kahler's scenes of the Spring Racing Carnival and Roberts' Opening of the First Commonwealth Parliament are important records of significant events in Australia's growth to nationhood.

The Pinschofs used their social status to help Melbourne's artists and musicians. Their home 'Studley Hall' was a showcase for artists' work. Patrons, artists and musicians met at their sotrees and dinner parties. 'Studley Hall' and 'Hohe Warte' were centres of artistic life. Mount Macedon provided an idyllic environment for relaxation and inspiration, as well as a setting for paintings.

Pinschof's most useful role was in advising artists on financial matters and in ensuring that the artists' interests were not infringed upon. Artists should have people to help them manage their more mundane affairs, but artists must at the same time be aware of their rights. Pinschof's patronage contributed to these artists and musicians being able to produce more work, to study, to exhibit, and also to advance themselves overseas, which these Australians felt was necessary.

After Unification, Germany rapidly became a leading industrial, political and naval power rivalling Britain. Anglo-German animosity steadily increased. Developing trade with Continental Europe contributed to Australia's growing economic independence from Britain but Australians felt that Germany's prominence in the Pacific was a threat to their security. Upon the outbreak of war, the Pinschof family was one of many families of German origin who, despite their love of their adopted country, suffered greatly from racial antagonism. The artists were among the Pinschofs' few loyal friends. The Pinschofs' prominent social position made them especially vulnerable to attack, while all around them German culture was being suppressed. German symphonic music, already weakening in popularity, was felt to be unsavoury and Australians looked increasingly to Britain and France for their classical music. Official Australian policy and the German conduct of the war, resulted in an enduring anti-German feeling deep in the Australian psyche. Germany and Austria, both vanquished, had severely lost their power to influence world culture. For Australia the First World War was a time of increased national self-definition, many observers seeing in the Anzac fighting spirit, the birth of the real Australian. Due to increased isolation, art in Australia became largely parochial.

The Pinschofs greatly assisted in the development of an indigenous Australian art and music. They also led the promotion of German culture which helped to make Australia less insular. On all accounts the Pinschofs must be restored to their rightful
place, as important figures in Australian history for their contributions to music, art and culture.
LIST OF PLATES

All measurements are given in centimetres, height before width.

Plate 1  Siegmund Dux *Frau Charlotte Pinschof* 1867, oil on panel 18 x 15.  
Source: slide in the possession of Thomas Pinschof.

Plate 2  Emperor’s Pavilion and Pageant for the Silver Wedding Anniversary of Franz Josef I 1879 designed by Hans Makart (pictured on horseback leading the artists’ contingent).  

Plate 3  *Der Komische Oper* on the Ringsstrasse.  

Plate 4  The Palace of Industry, the World Exhibition Vienna 1873.  

Plate 5  German Imperial Tent 1880 International Exhibition Melbourne.  
Source: La Trobe Library.

Plate 6  Royal Meissen Porcelain Display.  
Source: Friebe, 1985, p. 84.

Plate 7  Austrian Court (front view) 1880 International Exhibition, Melbourne.  
Source: La Trobe Library.

Plate 8  Andreas Achenbach *Dutch Canal Landscape* 1880s.  
Source: *Weltkunst*, 54 Jahr, nr. 16, August 1984, p. 2140.

Plate 9  Hermann Baisch *Cattle Market in an Upper Bavarian Village* 1881 oil on canvas 81.5 x 124 Georg Schäfer Sammlung Schweinfurt.  

Plate 10  Carl and Elise Pinschof 1883 photograph 10 x 6.5, John William Lindt.  
Source: photograph in the possession of Thomas Pinschof.

Plate 11  German Consulate until c. 1890 Shakespeare Grove Hawthorn designed by J.A.B. Koch 1875.  
Source: photograph the author.

Plate 12  George Frederick Folingsby *Bunyan in Prison* 1864 oil on canvas 132 x 111.7.  

Plate 13  Carl von Pilowy *Soni Before the Corpse of Wallenstein* 1855 oil on canvas 317.7 x 371 Neue Pinakothek Munich.  

Plate 14  Frederick McCubbin *Home Again* 1884 oil on canvas 85 x 123.  
Source: Galbally, 1987, p.46.

Plate 15  George Frederick Folingsby *Autumn c. 1882 oil on canvas 96.5 x 61.  


Plate 18  Carl Kahler The Lawn at Flemington on Cup Day, 1887 1887 oil on canvas 155 x 252. Source: The Victoria Racing Club.


Plate 22  Carl Kahler's Studio Elizabeth Street late 1880s photograph Gemmell Tuckett & Co. auction catalogue February 1890, La Trobe Library. Source: Terence Lane and Jessie Scric, Australians at Home: A Documentary History of Australian Domestic Interiors from 1788 to 1914, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1990, p. 230, plate 244.


Plate 24  Stained Glass Window presented to Victoria by Austria-Hungary during the Centennial International Exhibition. Now in the Reception Room, Melbourne Town Hall. Source: Melbourne Town Hall.


Plate 26  View in the German Art Gallery Centennial International Exhibition Melbourne 1888. Source: La Trobe Library.

Plate 27  View in the German Art Gallery Centennial International Exhibition Melbourne 1888. Source: La Trobe Library.

Plate 28  View in the Piano Hall, German Court, Centennial International Exhibition Melbourne 1888. Source: Illustrated Australian News, 15 September 1888, p. 172, microfilm, La Trobe Library.

Plate 29  Arthur Streeton Professor Marshall-Hall 1892 oil on canvas 76.2 x 50.8 Source: Ann Galbally, Arthur Streeton, Lansdowne, Melbourne, 1969.

Plate 31  Victorian Artists' Society Building Albert Street East Melbourne, home of the University of Melbourne Conservatorium 1898-1900 thereafter known as the Albert Street Conservatorium. Source: photograph the author.


Plate 35  Arthur Streeton Sirius Cove 1896 oil on panel 29.2 x 21.5. Source: Galbally, 1969, plate 40, p. 47.

Plate 36  Arthur Streeton Cremorne, Sydney Harbour 1896 oil on canvas 34.2 x 83.8. Source: Christie's Melbourne.

Plate 37  Ambrose Patterson The Yarra Near Kew c. 1897 oil on panel 20.5 x 26.5. Source: photograph the author courtesy Christie's Melbourne.

Plate 38  Arthur Streeton Street Scene, Cairo 1897 watercolour 30.5 x 17.8 private collection Melbourne. Source: Galbally, 1969, plate 52, p. 57.


Plate 41  Tom Roberts Adagio 1899 oil on paper on pulpboard 25.4 x 50.8 Art Gallery of New South Wales. Source: Topliss, 1985, plate 96.

Plate 42  Tom Roberts Louise Pinschof 1900 pastel on paper 43.2 x 34.1 Art Gallery of New South Wales. Source: Topliss, 1985, plate 154.

Plate 43  Tom Roberts Miss Nancy Elmhurst Goode 1900 pastel on paper 84.8 x 65.1 National Gallery of Victoria. Source: Topliss, 1985, plate 154.

Plate 44  Tom Roberts Professor G.W.L. Marshall-Hall 1900 oil on canvas 55.9 x 45.9 Grainger Museum, University of Melbourne. Source: Topliss, 1985, plate 158.

Plate 45  'Studley Hall' Studley Park Kew. Source: negative in the possession of Thomas Pincschof.

Plate 46  View from the terrace towards Richmond. Source: slide in the possession of Xavier Preparatory School.

Plate 47  Ballroom 'Studley Hall'. Source: slide in the possession of Xavier Preparatory School.
Plate 48  Baron Arpad Paszthory *Madame Melba* 1902 (detail) oil on canvas 250 x 125 Melba Hall, University of Melbourne. Source: Grainger Museum, University of Melbourne.

Plate 49  Bertram Mackennal *Circe* 1892-1893 bronze 204.6 x 92 x 56 National Gallery of Victoria. Source: postcard National Gallery of Victoria.


Plate 51  Bertram Mackennal *Salome* 1897 bronze 27 x 13.5 x 7.7 University Gallery, University of Melbourne. Source: slide, Fine Arts Department Library, University of Melbourne.

Plate 52  Bertram Mackennal untitled (known as *Goddess*) c. 1894 bronze 34 x 28 x 2.5. Source: Thomas, 1989, plate 101.


Plate 56  Arthur Streeton *View Warte*, *Macedon* 1907 oil on board 25.5 x 30.5. Source: photograph the author from the original, private collection Melbourne.

Plate 57  Arthur Streeton *Australia Felix* 1907 oil on canvas 89.5 x 151 Art Gallery of South Australia. Source: card, The House of Bodleigh, Australia.

Plate 58  Arthur Streeton *Chepstowe Castle* c. 1902 oil on canvas 50.8 x 76. Source: Galbally, 1969, plate 55, p. 60

Plate 59  Arthur Streeton *Leafy June* 1907 oil on panel 23.9 x 18.5. Source: Christie’s Melbourne, 16 September 1991, cat. no. 118.

Plate 60  Walter Withers *Greensborough Lane* c. 1903 25.5 x 35.5 oil on academy board. Source: Christie’s Melbourne, 16 September 1991, cat. no. 119.

Plate 61  Will Ashton *Moonrise: St. Ives Harbor* c. 1900 oil. Source: Exhibition of...Pictures by Will Ashton, Guildhall, Melbourne...1907 cat. no. 94.
Plate 2  Emperor's Pavilion and Pageant for the Silver Wedding Anniversary of Franz Josef I 1879 designed by Hans Makart (pictured on horseback leading the artists' contingent).

Plate 3  Der Komische Oper on the Ringstrasse
Plate 4  The Palace of Industry, the World Exhibition Vienna 1873
Plate 11  German Consulate until c. 1890 Shakespeare Grove Hawthorn
designed by J.A.B. Koch 1875
Plate 20  William Frith *Derby Day* 1858

Plate 22  Wilhelm Gause *Return from the Race in the Freudenau* c. 1886
Plate 22  Carl Kahler's Studio Elizabeth Street late 1880s At the Opera seen top right

Plate 23  Rudolf von Alt Hans Makart's Studio 1885
Plate 24 Stained Glass Window presented to Victoria by Austria-Hungary during the Centennial International Exhibition. Now in the Reception Room, Melbourne Town Hall.

Plate 25 Porcelain Winged Victory presented to Victoria by Germany during the Centennial International Exhibition.
Plate 26  View in the German Art Gallery Centennial International Exhibition Melbourne 1888
Plate 27 View in the German Art Gallery Centennial International Exhibition Melbourne 1888. Von Werner’s portrait of Chancellor Bismarck seen rear far right.
Plate 29 Arthur Streeton Professor Marshall-Hall 1892
Plate 30 Premises of the University of Melbourne Conservatorium 1895-1898
Plate 31  Victorian Artists' Society Building Albert Street East Melbourne, the national centre of art and music before 1914, home of the University of Melbourne Conservatorium 1898-1900 thereafter known as the Albert Street Conservatorium
Plate 32  Arthur Streeton St Paul's Across the Thames c. 1905
Plate 37  Ambrose Patterson *The Yarra Near Kew* c. 1897
Plate 38 Arthur Streeton *Street Scene. Cairo* 1897
Plate 44  Tom Roberts Professor G.W.L. Marshall-Hall  1900
Plate 45  'Studley Hall' Studley Park Kew

Plate 46  View from the terrace towards Richmond
Plate 47  Ballroom 'Studley Hall'
(photograph taken after the mansion became Xavier Preparatory School)
Plate 48  Baron Arpad Paszthory *Madame Melba* 1902 (detail)
Plate 49  Bertram Mackennal *Circe* 1892-1893
Plate 52  Bertram Mackennal untitled (known as Goddess) c. 1894
Plate 53  German Arch Swanston Street on the occasion of the Opening of Federal Parliament 1901
designed by J.A.B. Koch
Plate 55  Tom Roberts *Study of Herrn Consul Pinschof* 1901
Plate 56  Arthur Streeton 'Hohe Warte', Macedon 1907

Plate 57  Arthur Streeton Australia Felix 1907
Plate 58  Arthur Streeton  *Chepstowe Castle* c. 1902
Plate 59  Arthur Streeton *Leafy June* 1907
Plate 60  Walter Withers *Greensborough Lane* c. 1903
After Pinschof's death in 1926 Elisabeth Finley née Pinschof returned to Melbourne and in 1934 asked Arthur Streeton to divide her father's collection (excluding the family portraits) among the three daughters. Louise remained in U.S.A. and married and had children. Carmen's paintings were left to relatives in U.S.A. Elisabeth's works were sold in Sydney or given to relatives in U.S.A. Some are on loan to the Art Gallery of New South Wales
APPENDIX THE PINSCOF COLLECTION

Works by European artists are listed before those by Australian artists. The measurements are in centimetres and height precedes width.

ABBREVIATIONS

l.l. lower left
l.r. lower right
S.d. Signed and dated
P.W.U. Present Whereabouts Unknown

Works by European Artists

Signor Ettore Cadorin  Venice  1913 clay
Inscribed: "Mr P"
Provenance: A present from the artist to Pinschof 1913 - Carmen Harris née Pinschof, England - P.W.U.

Siegnmund Dux  Frau Charlotte Pinschof  1867 oil on panel 18 x 15
Provenance: Commissioned by Franz Pinschof in 1867 in Vienna - shipped to Melbourne pre 1914 - Elisabeth Finley née Pinschof, Australia - descendants in U.S.A.

Hefft  Kierling am Wechsel, Nieder Österreich c. 1879 oil
Provenance: A present to Fräulein Elise Wiedermann from the artist c. 1879 - shipped to Melbourne pre 1914 thereafter no record

I.V.D. Helder  On the River Schelde  c. 1880s oil
Provenance: A present from Frau Reenger, a Berlin art dealer, to Pinschof pre 1914. Purchased by her for £70 prior to her visit to Australia- Elisabeth Finley Australia - P.W.U.

Carl Kahler  Mutual Breakfast  c. 1886 oil on canvas
Provenance: Purchased for £75 from Gemmell, Tuckett & Co. auction of Kahler's paintings 1890 - Carmen Harris England - P.W.U.

Carl Kahler  At the Opera  c. 1886 oil on canvas
Provenance: Acquired on the artist's departure in 1890 - no record after 1914

Carl Kahler  A Secret  c. 1886 oil on canvas
Provenance: Purchased for £75 at Gemmell, Tuckett & Co. auction of Kahler's paintings 1890 - sold after 1914

Carl Kahler  Reverie  c. 1886 oil on canvas 81.2 x 61
Provenance: Purchased for £150 prior to Kahler's departure in 1890 - Louise Hutchins née Pinschof, U.S.A. - Elisabeth Finley Australia - sold for £6-6-0.

Carl Kahler  The Artist's Studio, Melbourne  1889 oil on canvas 94 x 136
Provenance: Acquired on the artist's departure in 1890 - no record after 1914.
Carl Kahler  *New Zealand White Terraces*  1887 oil on canvas
Provenance: Acquired on the artist’s departure in 1890 - no record after 1914.

Carl Kahler  *Portrait of Miss Miller c.*  1887 oil on canvas
Provenance: Commissioned by Miller family and acquired by Pinschof pre 1891 -- 1960s sold 6 guineas.

Carl Kahler  *The Lawn at Flemington on Cup Day, 1887*  1887 oil on canvas 155 x 252
Signed l.l.: "Carl Kahler" Inscribed: "Melbourne"
Provenance: Commissioned by Pinschof and acquired from the artist pre 1891
 Elisabeth Finley Australia - George Tye - Tye family - 1964 presented to the Victoria Racing Club by the Tye family.

Carl Kahler  *Derby Day, 1886*  1889 oil on canvas 155 x 252
Signed l.l.: "Carl Kahler" Inscribed: "Melbourne"
Provenance: Acquired by Pinschof and acquired from the artist prior to his departure in 1891 -
 Elisabeth Finley Australia - George Tye - Tye family - 1964 presented to the Victoria Racing Club by the Tye family.

Carl Kahler  *The Betting Ring*  1889 oil on canvas 155 x 252
Signed l.l.: "Carl Kahler" Inscribed: "Melbourne"
Provenance: Commissioned by Pinschof and acquired from the artist prior to his departure 1891 -
 Elisabeth Finley Australia - George Tye - Tye family - 1964 presented to the Victoria Racing Club by the Tye family.

Ernst Lefére  *Fräulein Elisabeth Wiedermann*  1870 oil on canvas
Provenance: Commissioned by Pinschof and acquired from the artist prior to his departure 1891 -
 Elisabeth Finley Australia - George Tye - Tye family - 1964 presented to the Victoria Racing Club by the Tye family.

Julius Mayburg  *Elisabeth Wiedermann as Carmen*  1882 oil on cardboard
Provenance: Commissioned by Pinschof and acquired from the artist prior to his departure 1891 -
 Elisabeth Finley Australia - George Tye - Tye family - 1964 presented to the Victoria Racing Club by the Tye family.

Baron Arpad Paszthory  *Harbour at Oran c.* late 1890s
Provenance: Commissioned by Pinschof and acquired from the artist during his sojourn in Melbourne - no record after 1914.

Baron Arpad Paszthory  *Niger Child c.* late 1890s
Provenance: Commissioned by Pinschof and acquired from the artist during his sojourn in Melbourne - no record after 1914.

Baron Arpad Paszthory  *Madame Melba*  1902 oil on canvas 250 x 125
Signed l.r.: "Paszthory"
Provenance: Commissioned by Pinschof in 1902 during Melba's first Australian tour £50 - on loan Pincress Theatre Melbourne - Presented by Pinschof to Melba Hall, University of Melbourne on its opening in 1913 - after 1940 moved to Grainger Museum - 1986 Melba Hall.

Baron Arpad Paszthory  *Emperor of Austria c.* 1903
Provenance: Commissioned by Pinschof in 1902 during Melba's first Australian tour £50 - on loan Pincress Theatre Melbourne - Presented by Pinschof to Melba Hall, University of Melbourne on its opening in 1913 - after 1940 moved to Grainger Museum - 1986 Melba Hall.
Baron Arpad Paszthory *At Black Rock* c. 1903
Provenance: Acquired from the artist c. 1903 - no record after 1914.

Baron Arpad Paszthory *Paderewski* 1904 pastel
Acquired from the artist in 1904 during Paderewski's first Australian tour -
no record after 1914

Mizi Pinschof *Frau Charlotte Pinschof* c. 1900
Provenance: Acquired from the artist during her stay in Melbourne

Mizi Pinschof *Roses* c. 1900
Provenance: Acquired from the artist during her stay in Melbourne

Mizi Pinschof *Serbian Priest* c. 1900
Provenance: Acquired from the artist during her stay in Melbourne

Viktor Tiligner *Empress Elisabeth of Austria* plaster reproduction of 1878 equestrian
sculpture
Provenance: A present to Pinschof from the 1880 Melbourne International
Exhibition -

no record after 1914.

**Works by Australian Artists**

Will Ashton *Moonrise: St. Ives Harbor* c. 1900 oil
Provenance: Purchased from Exhibition of...Pictures by Will Ashton,

Guildhall, Melbourne...1907 £30 -

Carmen Harris England - P.W.U.

Will Ashton *The Jetty at Normanville* 1903 oil
Provenance: Purchased from Exhibition of...Pictures by Will Ashton,

Guildhall, Melbourne...1907 £9-9-0 -

Elisabeth Finley Australia - Lawsons Sydney 1959 sold 20 guineas.

Montague Brown *By the Wayside*
Provenance: Purchased in 1907 £5-5-0 -

Elisabeth Finley - gift to [indecipherable] from Elisabeth Finley

George Coates *Spanish Guitar Player* 1912 oil 38 x 28
Provenance: Purchased from Dora Meeson in Melbourne 1913 £30 -

Carmen Harris England - P.W.U.

Emanuel Phillips Fox *By the Ferry* c. 1907 oil on panel
Provenance: Purchased from Exhibition of Pictures by Emanuel Phillips

Fox, Guildhall, Melbourne, 1908 £10-10-0 -

Louise Hutchins U.S.A. - Elisabeth Finley Australia - P.W.U.

Bertram Mackennal *Circe* 1892-1893 bronze 204.6 x 92 x 56
Inscribed on base: "KIPKH/ Bertram Mackennal/ 1893/ E. GRUET JNE -
FONDEUR, PARIS"
Provenance: Purchased in 1901 during Mackennal's Exhibition at the
National Gallery of Victoria £1000 -

1910 sold by Pinschof to the National Gallery of Victoria, Felton Bequest.
Bertram Mackennal  
untitled (known as Goddess) c. 1894 bronze 34 x 28 x 2.5
Signed l.r.: "Bertram Mackennal"  

Bertram Mackennal  
Truth 1894 bronze 61 x 19 x 17.5
Inscribed on base: front "Truth"; rear "Mackennal, June 12 1894 London"; stamp "E. Gruet/ Jeune/Fondeur/ Paris"
Provenance: Purchased from Mackennal's Exhibition at the National Gallery of Victoria 1901 £65 - P.W.U.

Bertram Mackennal  
Salome 1897 bronze on black marble 27 x 13.5 x 7.7
Inscribed on base: "London"
Provenance: Purchased from Mackennal's Exhibition at the National Gallery of Victoria 1901 £40 - Elisabeth Finley Australia - on loan to the Art Gallery of New South Wales from Elisabeth Finley (died December 1979).

Alexander McClintock  
Chinaman's Huts c. 1900
Provenance: Acquired pre 1914 - Elisabeth Finley Australia - P.W.U.

Alexander McClintock  
Evening on the Darling c. 1900

Alexander McClintock  
Light and Shade c. 1900

Frederick McCubbin  
The Bakehouse c. 1885 oil 61 x 50.8
Provenance: Acquired pre 1922 - Carmen Harris England - P.W.U.

Frederick McCubbin  
On the Way to Braemar (Macedon) 1904 oil 48.5 x 30.5
Provenance: Purchased for £8-8-0 pre 1914 - Elisabeth Finley Australia - 1957 sold 50 guineas

Frederick McCubbin  
Loch c. 1910 oil

Frederick McCubbin  
The Ford c. 1915 oil 33 x 53.3

John Mather  
On the Salt Water River 1889

John Mather  
Crow Island pre 1914

Dora Meeson  
Queen's Warf c. 1897 watercolour
Provenance: Acquired from the artist in 1913 during her Melbourne visit - Louise Hutchins U.S.A. - P.W.U.

Dora Meeson  
Moonlight c. 1910
Provenance: A present to Pinschof's mother from the artist during her 1913 visit - Elisabeth Finley Australia - P.W.U.
Ernest Moffitt  
Sketch  c 1897  
Provenance: Acquired late 1890s - Carmen Harris England - P.W.U.

Ambrose Patterson  
The Yarra Near Kew  c. 1897 oil on panel 20.5 x 26.5  
Signed lr.: "Ambrose Patterson"  

Tom Roberts  
By the Alhambra  1883 watercolour on paper 34.9 x 24.1  
S.d.l.l.: "Tom Roberts/ 83" Inscribed l.l.: "By the Alhambra"  
Provenance: A present to Madame Pinschof from Miss Goode late 1890s - Elisabeth Finley - private collection Melbourne.

Tom Roberts  
Rose Bay  c. 1894 oil on panel 28 x 64.8  

Tom Roberts  
Balmain  1896 oil  
Provenance: Acquired pre 1914 thereafter no record

Tom Roberts  
Madame Pinschof  1899 pastel on paper 92.5 x 58.5  
Signed, dated and inscribed lr.: "Tom Roberts/ con amore/ SYDNEY/ 5.5.99"  
Inscribed on a sketch of a palette followed by the drawing of the 'Bulldog'  

Tom Roberts  
Elisabeth and Carmen Pinschof  1900 pastel on linen laid down 61 x 61  
S.d. l.l.: "Tom Roberts 1900"  
Provenance: Commissioned by Madame Pinschof £21 - Elisabeth Finley Australia - late 1960s presented to Caleb Roberts, the artist's son, by Elisabeth Finley with the intent that it go to the National Gallery of Victoria - 1984 National Gallery of Victoria, Bequest from the estate of Caleb Roberts.

Tom Roberts  
Louise Pinschof  1900 pastel on paper 43.2 x 34.1  
S.d. lr.: "T/ R/ 1900" Inscribed lr.: "To/ Mr and Mrs Pinschof/ from N.E.G."  
Provenance: Commissioned by Miss Goode £16 and given to the Pinschofs 1900 - Elisabeth Finley Australia - 1976 on loan Art Gallery of New South Wales.

Tom Roberts  
Mrs Wischer  c. 1901 pastel on paper 40.6 x 35.6  

Tom Roberts  
Study of Herrn Consul Pinschof  1901 oil on canvas 13 x 9.2  
Signed lr.: "Tom Roberts"  

Tom Roberts  
Nasturtium: Decorative Panel  c. 1902 oil on wood panel 72.4 x 27.3  
Signed l.l.: "Tom Roberts"  
Provenance: Acquired pre 1914 - Elisabeth Finley Australia - P.W.U.
Arthur Streeton  *The Long Wave, Coogee*  1895 oil on wood panel 9.2 x 54.5
S.d. l.l.: "A. Streeton - 95"
Provenance: Purchased in Sydney in 1895 for £10-10-0 -
Elisabeth Finley Australia -
1959 sold to National Gallery of Victoria 200 guineas.

Arthur Streeton  *Cremorne, Sydney Harbour*  1896 oil on canvas 34.2 x 83.8
S.d. l.l.: "Arthur Streeton 96"
Provenance: Purchased from *Streeton’s Sydney Sunshine Exhibition, Melbourne, 1896* £26-5-0 -
Carmen Harris England - her nephew U.S.A. -
1991 Christie's Melbourne sold $70,000.

Arthur Streeton  *Sirius Cove*, 1896 oil on panel, 29.2 x 21.6
S.d. l.r.: "Streeton 96"
Provenance: Purchased from *Streeton's Sydney Sunshine Exhibition, Melbourne 1896* £10 -
Elisabeth Finley Australia - P.W.U.

Arthur Streeton  *Coogee*  1896 watercolour on paper 41 x 28
S.d. l.r.: "A. Streeton/96"
Provenance: A present from Nancy Elmhurst Goode to
Madame Pinschof c. 1914 -
Elisabeth Finley - descendants in U.S.A.

Arthur Streeton  *Street Scene, Cairo*  1897 watercolour 30.5 x 17.8
S.d. l.l.: "A Streeton" Inscribed beneath signature: "Cairo".
Provenance: Purchased late 1890s from Herbert Streeton £10 -
Elisabeth Finley - 1979 private collection Melbourne.

Arthur Streeton  *Chepstowe Castle*, c. 1902 oil on canvas 50.8 x 76
Signed l.l.: "A Streeton"
Provenance: Purchased from *Exhibition of Pictures by Arthur Streeton...1907 Hibernian Hall, Melbourne* £52-10-0 -
Elisabeth Finley - P.W.U.

Arthur Streeton  *St Paul's across the Thames*, c. 1905 watercolour on paper 35.5 x 50.8
S.d.l.r.: "Arthur Streeton/1905"
Provenance: A present to Madame Pinschof from
G.W.L. Marshall-Hall 1914 -
Elisabeth Finley Australia - P.W.U.

Arthur Streeton  *Barges at Chelsea*  c. 1905 watercolour
Provenance: Purchased from Exhibition of Pictures by Arthur Streeton...1907 Hibernian Hall, Melbourne £26-5-0 - sold after 1914 -
P.W.U.

Arthur Streeton  *Rochester Castle*, c. 1905 oil 50.8 x 76
Provenance: Purchased from *Exhibition of Pictures by Arthur Streeton...1907 Hibernian Hall, Melbourne* £52-10-0 -
Louise Hutchins U.S.A. - bought by Carmen Harris U.S.A. -
pre 1979 purchased from Carmen Harris estate for £500 - P.W.U.

Arthur Streeton  *Ben More, Kyle of Sutherland*, c. 1905 oil 76 x 50.8
Provenance: Purchased from *Exhibition of Pictures by Arthur Streeton...1907 Hibernian Hall, Melbourne* £52-10-0 - Carmen Harris U.S.A. - P.W.U.
Arthur Streeton  
*Leafy June*  pre 1908 oil on panel 23.9 x 18.5  
Signed l.r.: "A. S."
Inscribed verso: "This is one of the very best/ small pictures I have painted/ and it goes to Carl Pinschof with the painter's/ best regards and as a slight/ appreciation of the Consul's firm friendship/ and great kindness and also that/ of Mme Pinschof/ Arthur Streeton/ 14th Oct/ 1907"

Arthur Streeton  
'Hohewarte', *Macedon* 1907 oil on board 25.5 x 30.5
Inscribed l.l.: "MACEDON 1907"
Inscribed l.r.:"A. Streeton TO HIS FRIEND Mrs PINSCHOF"
Provenance: A present to Elise Pinschof from the artist - Elisabeth Finley - 1979 private collection Melbourne.

Arthur Streeton  
*Carmen in Swing* 1907 oil 40.6 x 30.5
Provenance: Acquired by the Pinschofs 1907 - Carmen Harris England - P.W.U.

Arthur Streeton  
*One Tree Hill (Macedon)* 1907
Provenance: Purchased from Exhibition of Pictures by Arthur Streeton...1907 Hibernian Hall, Melbourne £10-10-0 - Louise Hutchins Estate U.S.A.

Arthur Streeton  
*Point Piper from Mosman* 1907? oil
Provenance: A present from the artist to Pinschof - no record after 1914.

Arthur Streeton  
*Grand Canal; Midday Venice* 1908 oil 35.5 x 46
Provenance: Purchased from *Mr Streeton's Pictures* Victorian Artists' Society Gallery 1914 £31 - sold after 1914 - P.W.U.

Arthur Streeton  
*Carisbrooke c.* 1912 oil 61 x 45.7
Provenance: A present to C.L. Pinschof from the artist 1914 - Elisabeth Finley - P.W.U.

Arthur Streeton  
*The Top of the Gorge, Mount Buffalo* 1913 oil 76 x 50.8
Provenance: A present to Pinschof from the artist 1914 - Elisabeth Finley - 1960 Lawsons Sydney sold 250 guineas.

Arthur Streeton  
*Ruins Peronne* 1918 watercolour 35.5 x 53.3
Provenance: A present to Pinschof from the artist 1920 - Elisabeth Finley Australia - P.W.U.

Walter Withers  
*Rain Cloud c.* 1903 oil 35.5 x 56
Provenance: Purchased from Withers' 1907 Exhibition £21 - Elisabeth Finley Australia - 1959 sold Lawsons Sydney £35

Walter Withers  
*Greensborough Lane c.* 1903 oil on academy board 25.3 x 35
Signed l.r.: "Walter Withers"
Inscribed verso: "Greensborough Lane"
Blamire Young

_Autumn Landscape_ c. 1910

Provenance: A present to Madame Pinschof from
G.W.L. Marshall-Hall 1914 -
Louise Hutchins U.S.A. - P.W.U.
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